

JULY/AUGUST 1974

COLUMBIA

# JOURNALISM REVIEW

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## TAPE SHOCK

DANIEL S. GREENBERG

LET'S HEAR IT FOR SCIENCE

LAURENCE I. BARRETT

NAT HENTOFF

"ALL THE PRESIDENT'S MEN"



# COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

July/August, 1974

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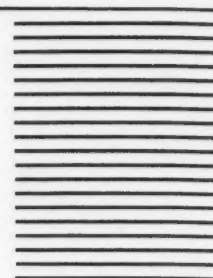
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## Passing comment

### Impeachment and trial: the right kind of TV

James Reston was one of the first to warn, in his column of March 31, that a presidential impeachment and trial might turn into a "television spectacular . . . with the Senate ablaze with lights, and the cameras turning, and the whole country and the world watching." Fortunately for the masses of us who are unlikely to have reserved seats at any such proceedings, there seems to be a stronger current of opinion running in favor of TV's entry into the halls of Congress.

Even so, there remains a serious question, raised even more pointedly by Victor Gold, former press secretary to former Vice President Agnew, on the *Times* op-ed page of May 21. To wit: Is network coverage to be offered in the spirit of the coverage of national conventions, with such circus devices as that dramatic but dubious CBS exploit of 1968—the intercutting of Mayor Daley and street disorders? Or, as Gold mentions, the close-up of Frank Costello's hands during the 1951 Kefauver hearings? Or the frantic lobby-scrambling that has marked not only conventions but also the Ervin committee's Watergate hearings of a year ago?

There are better precedents. Gold points one out: the coverage by public television of the 1972 national conventions, a faithful report of the proceed-

ings without frills. Even closer might be the 20 years and more of coverage of United Nations proceedings, offered with restraint and careful attention to the business at hand. If TV's tigers, its eager floor men and saturnine commentators, will permit themselves to be caged, their medium may have a chance to prove itself in an arena it has long sought to enter.

### Mobil: stonewalled by the media?

The Mobil Oil Corporation is most unhappy with the media. In a speech on June 3, Rawleigh Warner, Jr., Mobil's chairman, complained: "We have found it ineffective to rely on letters to the editor to rebut even the most misinformed reporting. Retractions by the press are rare and seldom catch up with the orig-

inal charge. News releases are of limited usefulness." This came on top of the rejection of Mobil's complaint against an ABC documentary, filed with the National News Council, which (in an opinion written by William A. Rusher of the *National Review*) said that the program was "well within the bounds of robust opinion journalism." And yet, it is possible, without offering a blanket endorsement to the oil companies, to note that some of Mobil's complaints have merit. Below is an instance that the company found peculiarly painful—a cartoon by Don Wright of the *Washington Star* Syndicate that links "Mr. Nixon, whose popularity is at an all-time low, with Mobil, which shares the opprobrium felt by all oil companies, thus fallaciously causing each to tar the other," as Herbert Schmertz, a Mobil vice president, has noted.



## The Kissinger leaks: a non-press issue

Those who savor such conflicts have painted Secretary of State Kissinger's overheated Salzburg news conference on June 11 as a new brush-fire war between officialdom and the press. When the Washington *Post* and other newspapers published stories about a 1973 FBI summary of the disputed national-security wiretaps, Sen. Barry Goldwater reverted to 1964 form and charged the *Post* with an "act of treason." The former Watergate prosecutor, Archibald Cox, offered a more moderately phrased warning that the news media were edging toward McCarthyism when they printed planted stories "without adequate opportunity for denial."

Russell Baker of the New York *Times* pegged the game for what it was almost at once:

It works like this: The papers publish a "leaked" document showing the government has been playing dirty pool. The government's men ignore the revelation. Instead, they denounce the papers for publishing material which the government didn't want the public to see. This is accompanied by statements that the published material will damage the national security, destroy the judicial system and otherwise accelerate rot in the moral fabric. . . . If this practice were common in nongovernment life, a man could murder his wife, tuck the body in the back lawn and count on the police to put all their energy into pressing trespassing charges against any busybody who reported a grave-sized mound behind the petunia patch.

One clue to the flimsiness of the accusations is the failure of the victim himself to join in the hue and cry. When pressed, he

withdrew a remark that seemed to blame news people for using unidentified sources. Kissinger added, a little later in the conference: "I have not had unfortunate experiences with the press. I think if this can happen to someone whose relationship with the press has been as good as I believe mine has been, then we are facing a national problem, not a personal problem. I do not believe there is the slightest personal animosity against me about this."

Amen. There is a national problem indeed, but those who try to make it a problem of the press alone are mistaken, or probably about 75 per cent mistaken. The news media did not commit in the first place the surreptitious acts of war that took place in 1969 and were leaked, nor did they initiate the egregious wiretaps in pursuit of those original leaks, nor did they create the secret materials about the wiretaps that have made up the second wave of leaks. Their responsibility has been to present this material, once they have acquired it, with balance and in context. The judgment here is that, by and large, they have done justice to the complexity of this particular matter.

## The Union-Leader practices restraint

Both President Nixon and White House aides made a point of urging Americans to read the "full record" of the edited White House transcripts.

The Chicago *Tribune* beat everyone in publishing the complete transcripts, and a score of major newspapers soon followed. Less predictably, some smaller papers published the complete transcripts—the Wilmington, Del., *Morning News*, for example, which purchased the plates

from the Louisville *Courier-Journal*.

One newspaper in which you couldn't find reprints of the transcripts was the Manchester, N.H., *Union-Leader*. While the *Union-Leader* dutifully reported the President's publication of the transcripts, *Union-Leader* readers would have been hard pressed to discover what was in them. For example, the day after the President's speech announcing release of the material, the *Union-Leader* reported his decision to "tell it all," but nowhere could readers discover, for example, what was said about "hush money" in the now famous March 21, 1973, meeting.

As the week progressed and journalists continued to sift the voluminous transcripts, the *Union-Leader* continued to report reaction pro and con, but not what the transcripts said. In this, the paper displayed most unusual news judgment. It was almost as bizarre as reporting a presidential election without naming the winner.

## Laurel

To the National Conference of Editorial Writers, for its fortitude in filing charges with the National News Council against Victor Lasky, who secretly accepted \$20,000 from the Committee for the Re-Election of the President in 1972 while continuing to produce a syndicated column, and against his syndicate, the North American Newspaper Alliance.

## Words to write by

"Most of the time all editorial writers do is come down from the hills after the battle and shoot the wounded."—Murray Kempton, at the third A. J. Liebling Counter-Convention, May, 1974.

## Rite of spring: covering Hank Aaron

Everyone knew it was going to happen—only the details remained to be noted.

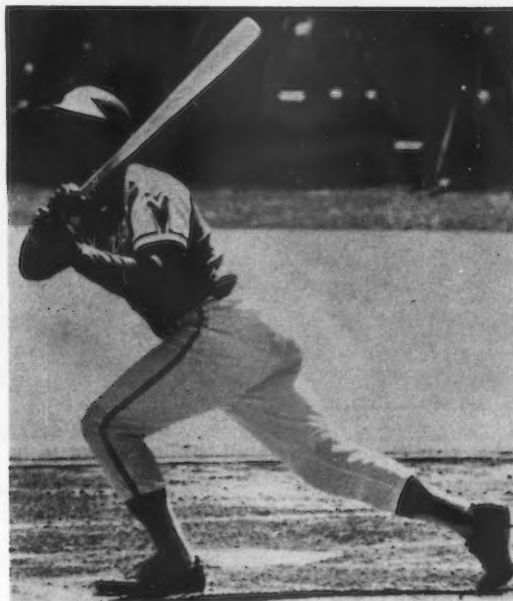
PAUL A. WITTEMAN

■ A home run à la Henry Aaron takes approximately 31 seconds from the time bat meets ball until Aaron's right foot touches home plate. Aaron has been performing this athletic feat with dulling regularity for the past twenty years, and will continue to do so until the 1974 major league baseball season ends in September.

A home run is only a marginally remarkable feat in the world of sports; there were over 3,000 hit in the major leagues alone last year. Esthetically and technically, an Aaron home run differs little from those hit by his major league peers. He strides into a pitch, whips the bat around with his eight inch wrists, and the ball sails over a wall or fence some three hundred feet away. Keeping his legs stiff, he jogs 360 feet around the perimeter of the infield, touching the three canvas bases and home plate, then retires to the dugout for a smoke. Some Aaron home runs have won games, one has won the Milwaukee Braves a pennant. But lately, as the Braves have stumbled in the lower regions of the National League, the home runs have meant the margin of defeat for the Braves is that much smaller. Big Deal.

---

Paul A. Witteman reports for *Time*.



Wide World photo

But it is precisely because Aaron has been hitting home runs with such regularity that the nation's sporting press has paid increasing and numbing attention to this taciturn black man from Mobile, Ala. The media attention mushroomed last year as Aaron methodically closed in on the record of 714 home runs set by the "immortal" Babe Ruth. (Ruth, of course, is "immortal" simply because we have always been told he was by preceding generations of sportswriters.) The National Broadcasting Company promised to break into its regular programming when Aaron got close to the record and the entourage of reporters sniffing for tidbits grew with each Aaron home run.

The mushroom reached nuclear proportions for six days in April as the country's sportswriters and sportscasters converged on Cincinnati and then Atlanta to chronicle the story of the two home runs that would bring him even with, then push him past, the record of Babe Ruth. In a nutshell, it was one of the most over-covered, over-written and over-hyped happenings in the world of sport. In a morbid sense it bore similarity to the death watch of some world notable. Everyone knew it was going to happen, had composed the story in their minds, and settled in for the siege.

Meanwhile in the middle west: Tornado damage in Saylor Park, Ohio



Wide World photo

The variables (when would it happen, and under what circumstances) were all that remained to be plugged in.

The Cincinnati Reds were hosting the Braves in the opener of the 1974 season on April 4. They had been deluged with requests for press credentials and a grand total of 283 filled the Reds press box that Thursday. The visitors ate over 600 sandwiches, 400 apples, and drank more than 700 cans of beer and soda. There were representatives from 76 newspapers, sixteen radio stations and nine television stations, including the three networks. *Time*, *Newsweek* and *Sports Illustrated* also had crews on hand (*Sports Illustrated* won the staffing derby with three writers and a photographic staff of eight) and there were radio crews from Caracas and Santo Domingo.

What they saw that day has been duly reported for posterity. It was a piece of journalistic cake. Aaron came up in the first inning, took one swing, hit a sinker over the left field wall and said, "I'm glad it's almost over with." That essentially was it.

It was not over for the press, however. Scores of reporters raced down to the seats where Aaron's wife Billye, his father, and his oldest brother were sitting. They posed such scintillating questions as, "What did Hank have for breakfast this morning?" "Did he do anything special before the game?" Mrs. Aaron stilled these banal inquiries with the comment, "You fellows are constantly trying to make something special of Hank. He's just Hank." The journalists on hand chose to ignore her low key.

The night before the game a series of tornados ripped through northern Kentucky, southern Ohio (including an area near Cincinnati) and much of the midwest. The disaster was the worst

experienced there in 50 years. When the twister roared through the Cincinnati suburb of Saylor Park, most of the members of this small, journalistic army were taking their ease in hotel rooms, restaurants and bars. Their universal concern that evening was whether the weather would prevent the playing of the game the following day. Few expressed the idea that the tornado was a story they should cover. They were there to cover Aaron.

Yet, who was there to cover the destruction caused by the tornados? Some large news organizations sent reporters to cover this major story. But most relied on the news services, apparently convinced that the disaster was not worth the trouble and expense of sending their own staffers. The gap between the hundreds sent to cover Aaron and the few sent to cover the twisters struck me as at least a mildly depressing comment on the nature of news judgment.

No matter. The sports writers turned out hundreds of thousands of words on Henry Aaron's 714th home run. On Friday and Saturday, days on which Aaron did not perform, they ground the subject exceedingly fine, then boarded planes for Atlanta Sunday night. Their airborne view of the tornado destruction was their first and last.

The swarm grew to 350 Monday night with the most notable additions drawn from the Japanese and Mexican press. Aaron obliged them all by swatting a pitch from Al Downing over the left field wall to break the record. That came early in the evening. At 4 a.m. the last reporter left the press room, having filed the last of over 400 stories written on Aaron that night. The journalists went to bed secure in the knowledge that they had done their job well, allowing nothing else to get in the way of a good story.



## Tape shock: the Nixon transcripts

EDWIN DIAMOND



Was the press being hypocritical or just naïve?

■ In late March, 1973, when the Watergate cover-up was beginning to come unstuck, White House press secretary Ronald Ziegler announced that President Nixon was ordering members of his staff to appear before the Watergate grand jury and testify, if summoned. The *Washington Star News* promptly reported the announcement as a significant change of policy: President Nixon was relaxing his stand on executive privilege in order to co-operate with the investigation. At the *Washington Post*, the national affairs desk picked up and reported substantially the same theme—despite the strenuous protests of the paper's two Watergate men, Carl Bernstein and Robert Woodward. They objected—correctly, it turned out—that the “new policy” was nothing more than a public relations gesture, an attempt to create the appearance of co-operation with the grand jury—whose deliberations were both secret and under the control of the administration's Justice Department—while at the same time stonewalling the *open, independent* hearings of the Senate Watergate committee.

Recalling that particular Ziegler feint—and the press's tumble, Woodward and Bernstein later said: “Nine months after Watergate, the White House demonstrated once again that it knew more about the news business than the news business knew about the White House.”

The episode was a relatively small crosscurrent

in the huge torrent of Watergate, but the Woodward-Bernstein verdict about the overall performance of the news business has been resoundingly confirmed by subsequent events. Indeed, the depressing evidence of just how little the news business knows of the White House's business—still—can be judged by the recent treatment of the taped and edited volume of the presidential conversations submitted to the House Judiciary committee on April 30, 1974.

Quantitatively, the press did a superb job in handling the sheer bulk of the White House transcripts. In Chicago, the *Tribune* had a word-for-word supplement of the text on the streets the morning after the document was made public. The National Public Radio staff read on the air, in uninflected style, all of the published transcriptions—which the White House said encompassed 33 hours of conversation; the reading took about 22 hours, which hints at the magnitude of the deleted material.

The quality of the transcript coverage, however, has been another matter. Overall, the press response to the White House transcripts has been one of self-professed shock, surprise and moral outrage. A good part of this treatment was straightforward reporting of the words of public figures, such as Sen. Hugh Scott (“deplorable, disgusting, shabby, immoral”); but there was also comment. *Newsweek* called the edited transcripts a “brutally revealing glimpse into the sort of *realpolitik* practiced by Mr. Nixon. . . .” The *Chicago Tribune* said, simply: “We are appalled.”

Edwin Diamond is a visiting lecturer in the Political Science Department at MIT and a commentator for the *Post-Newsweek* stations, Washington, D.C.



Fair enough. Yet an equally warranted reaction could just as properly be one of embarrassment. In all the pious hand-wringing—over the “amorality” of the Nixon Gang—and in all the mutual stroking—over the press’s role in exposing the low life of the Oval Office—the essential deficiency of the national press itself has gone relatively unremarked. Richard Nixon has been around for over 25 years now; *realpolitik* has been practiced by presidents as long as there has been the Republic; and swearing, Ashley Montagu assures us, is “as old as man and coeval with language.” Why, then, did the image of politics in general, and Richard Nixon in particular, apparently come as such a jarring revelation to the news business? Where have the political reporters and their editors been all these years? Where, in fact, are the knowledgeable, skeptically minded reporters and editors now?

For example, “amoral” has been probably the most frequently used description of the Nixon transcripts in the press’s *explication des textes*. “Soul-less,” “sleazy” and “insensitive”—as in, “an appalling insensitivity to his moral obligations”—are also high on the list of adjectives. Yet, when the Watergate break-in and cover-up begin to point to John Mitchell—“The Big Enchilada”—the transcripts (admittedly edited by the White House) can be made to yield a somewhat different picture of Richard Nixon, and to qualify the widely reported conclusion that Mr. Nixon cunningly wanted to offer Mitchell as a sacrificial lamb.

First, there appears to be a genuine effort to find out who did authorize—“sign off”—the Liddy intelligence plan. From the March 21, 1973, meeting of the President and Dean:

D. . . . Liddy laid out a million dollar plan that was the most incredible thing I’ve ever laid my eyes on: all in codes, and involved black bag operations, kidnapping, providing prostitutes to weaken the opposition, bugging, mugging teams. It was just an incredible thing.

P. Tell me this: did Mitchell go along—?

D. No, no, not at all, Mitchell just sat there puffing and laughing. . . .

Secondly, after sounding as if he really was trying to find out what happened, Nixon began facing the possibility that John Mitchell—his old

law partner, campaign manager, and friend—might take the fall.

D. . . . I was suggesting a meeting with Mitchell.

P. . . . Now, Mitchell has to be there because he is seriously involved and we are trying to keep him with us. We have to see how we handle it from here on. We are in the process of having to determine which way to go. . . .

And this passage from a meeting on March 27:

E. I say any idea of a meeting between you and Mitchell ought to wait until the Magruder, Haldeman, Mitchell meeting. . . .

P. What about the other way around? How about me getting Mitchell in and say, look (unintelligible) you’ve got to tell us what the score is, John, You have to face up to where we are. What do you say? How do we handle (unintelligible)—

And from a meeting of April 14 in which Ehrlichman and Haldeman push Mitchell forward as the “provable wrong-doer:”

E. I’m essentially convinced that Mitchell will understand this thing . . . you have a report from me based on three weeks’ work; that when you got it, you immediately acted to call Mitchell in as the provable wrong-doer, and you say, “My God, I’ve got a report here. And it’s clear from this report that you are guilty as hell. Now, John, for (expletive deleted) sake, go on in there and do what you should.

P. Well . . . the point is whether or not, I think I’ve got the larger picture, alright, and I mean in this regard, the point is, this that we need some action before, in other words, is like my feeling about having the Grand Jury do it and the courts system do it rather than the Ervin Committee. Now we want the President to do it rather than the Grand Jury.

The President may want Mitchell to be as “high up as they’ve [the Watergate Committee] got.” But this is hardly Humphrey Bogart telling Mary Astor, “I’m sending you over” to the cops.

Third, there is abundant evidence in the edited transcripts that Richard Nixon was trying to save his own skin by “containing” the scandal, “buying time,” “reducing our losses” and “keeping the cap on the bottle.” But there is also, as counterpoint, evidence of a concern about being presidential and not prejudicing the rights of possible accused. There is also a passage in a midnight telephone conversation with John Ehrlichman on April 14, 1973, that can be read, if one chooses, as

revealing a president struggling to decide what is right:

P. Fine. Well, John, you have had a hell of a week—two weeks. And of course poor Bob (Halderman) is going through the tortures of the damned.

E. Yeah. That family thing is rough.

P. I know the family thing. But apart from the family thing, you know, he is a guy that has just given his life, hours and hours and hours, you know, totally selfless and honest and decent. That is another thing! Damn it to hell, I am just about to say. Well you know you get the argument of some, anybody that has been charged against, you should fire them. I mean you can't do that. Or am I wrong?

E. No, you are right.

P. Well, maybe I am not right. I am asking. They say, clean the boards. Well, is that our system?

E. Well that isn't a system. You know, that is a machine. That's—

P. That's right. I feel, honestly,—I mean, apart from the personal feelings we both have for Bob, don't you? But you know, I raised this myself. One way out is to say, well look, as long as all these guys have been charged, out they go and they can fight this battle and they can return when they get cleared. It is not good, is it?

E. You know I don't think it is. I don't think that is any way to run a railroad. I think . . .

P. Well, the point is, whatever we say about Harry Truman, etc. while it hurt him a lot of people admired the old bastard for standing by people

E. Sure.

P. who were guilty as hell

E. Yep.

P. and damn it I am that kind of person. . . .

True, this is not the swift, firm, cool, decision-making that Richard Nixon, in his *Six Crises* and in his interviews with selected reporters, would have us believe has characterized his personal and presidential style. True, too, questions of tactics and appearance are raised. And there is no way of knowing how much of this talk is for the record—with President Nixon conscious of the voice-activated tape. But neither is it the wholly craven behavior that the glosses have put forward. The transcript coverage and commentary have substituted one cardboard portrait for the older, one-dimensional figure with flag in lapel. Reality, as always, proves to be more complicated than art. The White House transcripts, as the *New Republic's* TRB (Richard Lee Strout), perhaps the sharpest Washington commentator around, has pointed

out, should be read as a complicated drama. It shouts for a Shakespeare, he wrote:

Who else could do justice to the crewcut Halderman, the scowling Ehrlichman, the make-believe strong man Nixon, caught like the little ventriloquist from Kansas behind the throne in the Wizard of Oz? Or, above all, John W. Dean 8d, right out of Shakespeare's barrel of villains, young, supple, obsequious, fawning—the brightest one in the crowd; instantly adapting himself to the newest Nixon fantasy, saying when Nixon suggests he tell a cock-and-bull story to the Cabinet that he will spin such a yarn as will astonish them.

Instead of high theater, we have gotten cartoons. Literally. In May, 1973, Gary Trudeau's *Doonesbury* strip, distributed by Universal Press Syndicate, carried Marvelous Marv Slackmeyer's radio commentary on Watergate:

It would be a disservice to [John] Mitchell and his character to prejudge the man, but everything known to date could lead one to conclude he's guilty.

And in the next panel, deejay Marv shouts into his microphone:

THAT'S GUILTY, GUILTY, GUILTY, GUILTY!

In May, 1974, Marvelous Marv's shouts were being echoed, about Mitchell, President Nixon and the rest of the palace guard, in the reaction to the transcripts. There was much the same mixture of hypocrisy and certainty. Very few press people in Washington doubt that Mr. Nixon is "guilty"—of something, somewhere. (And I include myself in this group.) But few can cite hard proof.

To raise such questions right now appears ill-mannered. The press, after all, currently ranks higher than ever before in the public opinion polls. To accuse journalists of not being Shakespeares, when they have helped corral the Nixon Administration bad guys, seems terribly picky—like expecting Richard Nixon to sound like Lear rather than . . . well . . . the Richard Nixon of Checkers in 1952 and California in 1962.

But forget poetry. In all the paper blizzard of text and exegeses, the unblinkered media consumer ought to recall the legal issues that the House Judiciary committee was seeking to determine when it subpoenaed the transcripts in the first place: Was the President involved in the Watergate break-in planning and/or cover-up? Did he

authorize the payment of hush money? Did he encourage perjury? Did he obstruct justice? On these *substantive* issues both President and press are in agreement: the published transcripts are incomplete, confusing, ambiguous. "Much depends on the eye of the beholder" (R. W. Apple, Jr.—*New York Times*). "Parts may seem contradictory with one another" (Richard M. Nixon—speech to nation, April 29, 1974). All this may have been part of the White House "game plan," such as it was; but the press, incredibly, at this late date, by and large has gone along with the

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### *"Why should this image surprise so many people?"*

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patched-up tactics. The April 30th batch of tapes—edited, gapped, less than asked for by the committee—left the fundamental legal issues unresolved—and underlined the need to get more tapes in unexpurgated form. Instead of a consistent and fervent crusade backing the House committee's demands for substance, the press became preoccupied with presidential style. Mr. Nixon was faulted for his language, for his rambles and short attention span, for his concern with PR and image, for his obsession with scenario making—not only how it would play in Peoria but also how the news magazines might cover a specific development in the case, such as John Mitchell's involvement.

Though well-documented, this is hardly an impressive list of crimes. The profanity and the slurs can only shock some Rip Van Winkle who slept through the Truman, Eisenhower, Johnson and Kennedy years. Even when the [expletives deleted] are filled, it is mild enough stuff compared to, say, news magazine editorial offices or a Radcliffe dorm. Of course, the Nixon constituency isn't in New York or Cambridge but Out There, where culturally, as the political scientist Walter Dean Burnham explains, "We are still an idealistic na-

tion and where presidents aren't supposed to take the Lord's name in vain. . . ." Also, it was Mr. Nixon who came on so sanctimoniously in the 1960 campaign about Harry Truman's "bad" language, but press piety is no better than presidential piety.

We have also wallowed in the disjointed sentences, the interruptions, the lack of deference shown to the President by Messrs. Haldeman and Ehrlichman. But if digression is a crime, then Lyndon Johnson, even admiring aides now say, would be guilty in the first degree. Group conversations, among professors of English literature, no less, usually sound incoherent when they are transcribed. A big city mayor—liberal, attractive, intelligent—recently was inspired, if that is the word, by the Nixon transcripts to tape record his regular staff meeting and then play back the results to his surprised assistants. "First of all," he reports, "none of us would want any of our talk to get out in public. Second, we all came across like complete ninnies, although we *thought* we were making sense at the time. . . ."

Similarly, the media shock expressed at all the scenario-making betrays a short memory of past kitchen cabinets, contingency planners, and crisis managers. It also suggests a certain innocence about the practice of real politics. An aide to a leading politician—a certified "Mr. Clean"—says: "I can't remember a strategy meeting when we weren't all making scenarios." Another upper level politician, who has run a large government bureaucracy, says: "There isn't a day that goes by that we weren't thinking—how will the newspapers play this? Will it make the six o'clock news? What will the party leaders say? How will our people react?" For a time, I believed that the press professions of distaste about the Nixon scenario building was mostly hypocritical; but a survey of half a dozen political operatives convinces me that, as one said, "They (the reporters) simply have no true idea of what goes on inside. . . ." The habit of discursive, devious political talk is so ingrained—so "natural"—that it can't be kicked, even after the White House tapes. Recently, one man spoke with a governor who has national aspirations. After a 45-minute personal conversation, he mused: "That would kill him if it had been re-

corded. . . ." One value of the transcripts for political reporters, as well as political scientists, is that they do permit outsiders to look inside; journalists and academicians are usually involved with the intellectual tasks of research, proof, and history, rather than the politician's task of *doing*. Action requires options.

There is one description of Mr. Nixon and his inner circle that is entirely warranted on the basis of the edited tapes: the word is inept. Advertising executives (Haldeman, Ziegler) and lawyers (Nixon, Ehrlichman, Dean), the President and his men weren't even good at their own game of image making and presenting a competent brief. They don't understand the operations of a grand jury or the rules of immunity; Mr. Nixon has to be instructed in the meaning of the term "unindicted co-conspirator." Only John Dean—"the brightest one"—seems to know the law. The PR "side" isn't much better. What the tapes reveal is not so much the extent of the Nixonian news management—every recent president has tried that—but the inability to control the PR. There is a lot of tough talk—even about making trouble for the Washington Post Company, for example, through pressure on its broadcast properties—but not much action, or rather, effective action. If President Nixon and his aides put up the Florida groups who challenged the Post stations in Miami and Jacksonville, then they certainly picked some losers, including one official on the lam from the law.

This is not to downplay the power of the FCC or the FBI in the hands of hard ball players, to use a favorite White House phrase. But the transcripts show a largely unorganized pick-up team of soft ballers.

Yet where in the world did we get the picture of the consummate political "pro" Richard Nixon? And the accompanying portraits of his smooth Teutonic staff that made the executive office run on time? Where but from the White House and the press? President Nixon kept telling us how cool and savvy he was; but at least one Cabinet officer long ago sized up President Nixon as a "make-believe strongman," and has used the Watergate paralysis to run his own independent shop. Admiring newspaper profiles

and news magazine cover stories were touting "brilliant" Bob Haldeman and "super-competent" John Ehrlichman when Republican associates in the 1968 campaign could only remember them for their ability to get the luggage in the lobby by 6 a.m.

One of the best analyses of the Nixon tapes has been made by Emmet John Hughes, who worked in the Eisenhower White House. The tape record, Hughes wrote in the *New York Times Magazine* of June 9, "puts forth almost nothing that stands at variance with the political character of Richard Nixon as perceived over a span of 25 years." A final question, then, is: perceived by whom? For if the tapes reveal the one, the true, the real Nixon, who has been around Washington since 1949 (and who has been telling us who he is), then why should this image surprise so many people, in the press and generally?

On one level there was a simple failure of information. Until quite late in the game, as Woodward and Bernstein have said, the White House crew—as inept as it was—still was able to stay ahead of the news business. On another level, apparently, the man has become blurred in the aura of the office, with its telescenic Great Seal, Air Force One, and the rest of the panoply of power. If the shock of recognition when the Nixon transcripts appeared was strongest among newspapers in Middle America—such as the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Kansas City Times*—it may be that their editors got this far in life hoping that national politics are somehow different from politics in Cook or Jefferson Counties.

Closer to the White House, among working reporters, other emotions may have been at work, including unequal parts of fear, uncertainty, an unwillingness to trust the testimony of one's own eyes, and, yes, a preference for "objectivity." "Reporters leaned over backward to be as fair and charitable as possible," recalls one White House correspondent. John Lindsay of *Newsweek* still remembers Daniel P. Moynihan's effusive words about Richard Nixon at Moynihan's farewell party a few years ago, an occasion that marked the death of the Family Assistance Plan as well as Moynihan's departure for India. "We all wanted to believe in a 'new' Nixon," Lindsay says.





## Woodward, Bernstein and 'All the President's Men'

Journalists too must wrestle  
with the ethical tangles of Watergate

### I. Lingering questions

#### NAT HENTOFF

■ When Robert Redford announced he would make a movie of the Bernstein-Woodward account of what it took to uncover the Watergate cover-up, I was rather dismayed, expecting some screen writer to so "heighten" the action that the general public view of how journalists operate would be turned back to the feverish ambience of *The Front Page*. As readers of this journal know, reporting—or investigative reporting, to use the more prestigious term—consists mainly of phone

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call after phone call and interview after interview, many of which don't pan out. Eventually, most of the time, enough pieces of information fit together to make an authentic story; and the most exciting part of the pursuit is when you finally see your by-line on the damn thing in print.

Having now read the book, *All the President's Men*, I concede that my misgivings about the forthcoming movie were probably not justified. All that Redford and his colleagues have to do is stick to the text. Everybody knows the ending, but nonetheless this book is a thriller—even unto a warning, at one point, by Deep Throat (Woodward's highest source in the executive branch) that "everyone's life is in danger" (including Woodward's and Bernstein's) and that everyone involved in the story was under electronic surveillance (including Woodward and Bernstein).

The book moves quickly, the style being, in the non-pejorative sense, journalistic—relatively short paragraphs, a lot of quotes and swift character sketches as well as specific details of place and mood to keep the reader from switching to television. Wisely, Woodward and Bernstein chose to write about themselves in the third person. As a result, the point of view throughout is clearly focused rather than split between the differing perceptions and writing styles of each of the authors. (The latter approach might well have given us a book with more subtle and complicated overtones; but since the two writers do not pretend to be involved in a work of literature, as the academics say, there is no point in asking for what they did not want to do.)

Since I don't have to tell you the plot line and have already indicated you'll find the book enthralling, I prefer to use this space for unanswered questions of both fact and ethics that *All The President's Men* raises.

First, to the ethics. Bernstein had sources in the Bell system, and he used them to get information about calls made by particular figures in the story. Bernstein had misgivings: "It was a problem he had never resolved in his mind. Why, as a reporter, was he entitled to have access to personal and financial records when such disclosure would outrage him if he were subjected to a similar inquiry by investigators?"



Ehrlichman



Haldeman



Mitchell



Krogh



Kalmbach



Colson



Wide World Photos



Magruder



Hunt



Liddy



Chapin



Segretti



Barker

It's a good question. The Reporters' Committee for Freedom of the Press has rightly objected to telephone companies giving government investigators access to journalists' telephone records. To what extent—in this and other matters—does “the people's right to know” entitle a reporter to invade other people's privacy in this way?

Bernstein also says that in order to assure the cooperation of the chief investigator for the Dade County, Florida, state's attorney, he agreed to get the military records of a man running against the state's attorney. A Bernstein source in the Pentagon was indeed contacted and he agreed to get the information for Bernstein. (Wanted was “any possible derogatory information—arrests, mental illness, history of homosexuality.”) Fortunately, Bernstein adds, he never had to transmit the information because the state's attorney's investigator decided he didn't need it after all. The clear indication, however, is that Bernstein *would* have turned over the material if he had had to. That disturbs me a hell of a lot, as much as I admire what Bernstein and Woodward have wrought to prevent the President and his men from further evisceration of the Constitution.

It is Bernstein again, on the trail of Donald Segretti, who renews a contact at a credit card company. The company employee agrees, if promised anonymity, to obtain “selected records” of Segretti's credit card transactions. I am a First Amendment absolutist, in the tradition of William O. Douglas, but I also have great affection for the Fourth Amendment and great concern about what's happening to the right of privacy that amendment is supposed to protect. Where is

the line between aggressive journalism in the public interest and journalists' incursions into the privacy of individuals, however vital those individuals are to the development of a story?

Yet another instance of such journalistic zeal occurs when Bernstein and Woodward try to get information from members of the Watergate grand jury. Grand jurors take an oath to keep secret their own deliberations and the testimony they hear. Should reporters try to persuade them to break that oath? Bernstein and Woodward looked up the relevant section in the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure and concluded that “there seemed to be nothing in the law that forbade anyone to ask questions” [of grand jurors]. Nonetheless, “Woodward wondered whether there was ever justification for a reporter to entice someone across the line of legality while standing safely on the right side himself.”

That's another good question which, like the others I have underlined, is not entirely resolved by either Woodward or Bernstein. It is only when they get caught tampering with the jury—and that's exactly what they were doing—that Woodward and Bernstein begin to agonize over the question: “They had not broken the law when they visited the grand jurors, that much seemed certain. But they had sailed around it and exposed others to danger. They had chosen expediency over principle and, caught in the act, their role had been covered up. They had dodged, evaded, misrepresented, suggested and intimidated, even if they had not lied outright.”

I do not agree with Ron Ziegler that “contrition is bullshit,” but I would like to know the thinking

of Woodward and Bernstein on whether—if they are again on a story as big as Watergate—they might once more try jury-tampering.

At another point in time, Bernstein and Woodward damaged their own credibility by incorrectly reporting that Hugh Sloan had identified H. R. Haldeman before the grand jury as one of five men who handled the secret fund which financed Watergate and many other seamy activities by the President's men. Distraught, the two reporters began getting tough with their sources. They had to nail Haldeman another way. When an FBI source refused to cooperate with them, Woodward and Bernstein exposed him as a source to his superior. It was the first time either had blown a source, and they were unhappy about it. ("Both knew instinctively that they were wrong. But they justified it. They suspected they had been set up; their anger was reasonable, their self-preservation was at stake, they told each other.") However, they do admit that in exposing their source, "they had endangered the agent's career, betrayed his trust and risked their credibility with other sources."

They had been, to be sure, under great pressure; after all, reporters are human too. On the other hand, when a city official, years ago, made the argument to John Lindsay (then mayor of New York) that cops are often under terrible pressure—a fact that should be kept in mind when they react with "excessive force"—Lindsay's answer was, "Sure, we're all human. But cops have guns." A reporter can be quite deadly too.

Competition provides another kind of pressure. Jack Nelson of the Los Angeles *Times* scored a beat on Woodward and Bernstein by getting to Alfred Baldwin and taping a five-hour interview with the ex-FBI agent who had been a lookout for the Watergate burglary team. Eager to counter-score, Woodward and Bernstein rushed into print with the story that Baldwin had named three officials of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President as having received wiretap memos from James McCord. The story was wrong, and as a result, "Three men had been wronged. They had been unfairly accused on the front page of the Washington *Post*, the hometown newspaper of their families, neighbors, and friends."

Certainly there's much material in *All The*

*President's Men* for discussion in journalism classes, and in city rooms, for that matter. Should you get a story by "any means necessary?" To their credit, Bernstein and Woodward are candid about all of this, and also about the quite frail foundation of much of their early reporting on Watergate. They say that both of them "had gone through periods of apprehension about whether the foundation of their reporting—largely invisible to the reader—was strong enough to support the visible implications." As any reader will know, by that point—more than halfway through the book—Woodward and Bernstein had reason to be apprehensive. Happily—for them, and for the country—their stories turned out to have been justified. But a question remains concerning the extent to which the "foundation" of any story with such serious ramifications, including the destruction of many people's reputations, should be "largely invisible to the reader" at any point in its development. There is no way for an investigative reporter to avoid using anonymous sources in his stories—usually, the graver the story, the greater the number of anonymous sources—but ought the reader be led into believing that a story, at whatever stage, is firmly founded on fact when the reporters are not themselves that sure of the validity of the implications they printed?

*All the President's Men*, accordingly, does a considerable service to journalists and to those of the rest of the citizenry given to assaying the worth and believability of the news they get. The book is not only a good read, but it also presents a considerable number of fundamental questions with regard to the practice of journalism, including the ethics of journalism.

Woodward and Bernstein have performed yet another service. As their book demonstrates, much about Watergate has been left unanswered. Among my own questions:

- By apparently being a conduit for alleged White House money to keep E. Howard Hunt quiet, was Hunt's attorney, William O. Bittman, involved, in any way, in obstruction of justice?

- What, including possible White House pressures, was involved in the decision by U.S. District Court Judge Charles R. Richey on Aug. 22, 1972, to reverse himself and mandate that all pre-trial

testimony in the Democratic Party's \$1 million civil suit against the Committee for the Re-election of the President be sealed until proceedings in the case were completed? His decision meant that sworn statements by Stans, Mitchell, and others would not be made public until after the presidential election.

- What about the strangely myopic way in which Assistant U.S. Attorney Earl Silbert and his colleagues handled the original Watergate burglary case? The answers to that one have yet to be found, in sufficient detail, by any journalist.

- Not all, by any means, of the "intelligence gathering" and "games" perpetrated by the President's men in Illinois, New York, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, California, Texas, Florida, the District of Columbia—and who knows where else?—have been uncovered.

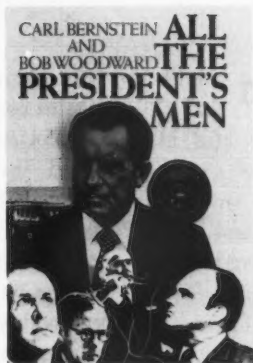
- Why did Edward Muskie—according to Roger Wilkins, then a *Washington Post* editorial writer—seek legal advice during the campaign "when he suspected members of his family were being followed and investigated"? That is, how well-founded were his suspicions?

- An FBI source told Woodward that "the bureau had run into information on political espionage and sabotage and done nothing with it. 'You'll have to talk to [the Department of] Justice about that,' he said. 'It went through channels to Justice and never came back.'"

What was going on at the Department of Justice, and who was responsible for *that* cover-up?

- Deep Throat told Woodward: "Mitchell started doing covert national and international things early and then involved everyone else. The list is longer than anyone could imagine. . . . The covert activities involve the whole U.S. intelligence community and are incredible. . . . [There is an] unreal atmosphere around the White House. . . . The President has had fits of 'dangerous' depression."

Deep Throat's assessments usually turned out to be accurate. Consider the front-page stories that may yet come out of that one paragraph. And what about the state of the President? Dan Rather



of CBS News is said to have told another reporter in May, 1974, that the President has, at times, been a "basket case." Several Washington reporters have told me that Gen. Alexander Haig, now the man closest to the President, can also be described as "Nurse Haig." Is there anything to any of this? How much is the

citizenry supposed to know about the state of any president's health, mental or physical? Everything, I would say.

- How much wiretapping to try to stop "leaks," among other reasons, has been going on during the Nixon administration? There is also Deep Throat's assertion that "the wiretapping had been done by ex-FBI and ex-CIA agents who were hired outside of normal channels. Mardian had run the Justice Department end of the operation for the White House. Watergate was nothing new to the administration, Deep Throat continued."

It sounds like a movie for Costa-Gavras to make. Is any of it true? If so, how much of it is true? What are these wiretappers and buggers doing *these* days and nights? What happened to the "information" they gathered? Is there an invisible government? How extensive is it? What has gone on in this vein during other administrations?

As the Watergate story was developing, Deep Throat advised Woodward: "Check every lead. It goes all over the map, and that is important. You could write stories from now until Christmas or well beyond that. . . . Not one of the games [his term for undercover operations] was free-lance. This is important. Every one was tied in."

That is still excellent advice. Obviously, Woodward and Bernstein, flaws and all, are to be credited for having been the first to dig up key aspects of Watergate. And by indicating many of the leads yet to be covered, Woodward and Bernstein, in *All the President's Men*, have made their second most valuable contribution to uncovering the cover-up. They broke the story, and in the process, Woodward and Bernstein have left a lot of work for the rest of us to do. It may well be that Robert Redford, if he wants to, will be able to make movies about Watergate for a decade or more.

# Woodward, Bernstein . . .

## II. The dark side of competition

LAURENCE I. BARRETT

■ Robust newspaper competition has vanished in most cities, and TV and all-news radio, though they try hard, cannot fill the void. National coverage is the last crowded arena. In Washington, at political conventions, on presidential campaigns, one's performance still must be matched against those of the toughest competitors.

Yet the very intensity of this competition—once considered an unassailable virtue—is now prompting serious questions about unattractive side effects. In *How True: A Skeptic's Guide to Believing the News*, Thomas Griffith worries that “the competitive instinct among reporters and editors . . . creates not only an incentive to outperform but also the drive to outsell.” Griffith, who had a long career at Time, Inc., and was *Life's* last editor, is disturbed by the can-you-top-this mentality in major running stories: “Once a theme to the news emerges—that McGovern vacillates, that Lyndon Johnson has a credibility problem, that Nixon has much to hide—then any small fact, otherwise inconsequential, can be tied to the theme and made to seem news. No wonder the victim thinks he is being persecuted.” The pack mentality in the Washington press corps, so often decried, cuts two ways. It tends to discourage innovative work on subjects which are not dominating the moment's headlines. It also encourages ferocious efforts to find new angles or examples for whatever happens to be Topic A.

As in so many things these days, the major reference point is Watergate. In a recent column, Joseph Kraft calls his colleagues to account for excesses of Watergate coverage. He concludes that

once the official investigative machinery had begun to run properly, there was no longer justification for such journalistic hanky-panky as abusing grand jury confidentiality. The newsmen who pursued Watergate, Kraft says, had done great service. Then the zinger: “To lose these gains at just this time would be a terrible pity. But they will be lost unless we show more self-discipline—unless there is a curbing in the spirit of rivalrous competition and self-important narcissism now so rampant in the fourth estate.”

His admonition came into clearer focus with the publication of *All the President's Men*, the Carl Bernstein-Bob Woodward account of how they did it. The book is valuable in several respects, not least of which is the insights it provides on the competitive aspects of Watergate coverage.

At the beginning, before they blended into the mechanism called Woodstein, they worried about each other. Would there be enough action for the two of them? Would one take charge? Would one be bumped from the story? In the book (written in the third person) Woodstein discusses these fears: “Gradually, Bernstein's and Woodward's mutual distrust and suspicion diminished.”

Washington *Post* people have complained that during the first months of Watergate they felt terribly lonely. Too few news organizations were taking up the exposé and therefore the *Post* was vulnerable to the charge that it was waging a vendetta. So the two reporters wanted company—provided that it came a day late to each event. Occasionally Woodstein pauses in the narrative to recall the anguish at being beaten by *Time*, the *New York Times*, and others.

In October, 1972, the *Los Angeles Times* scored with an on-the-record interview with Alfred C. Baldwin, the one-time F.B.I. agent who had worked for the Committee to Re-elect the President. The *Post*, too, had been chasing Baldwin (“Bernstein and Woodward had been aced out. The story was a major break.”) Whereupon the *Postmen* committed one of their few serious blunders. They came back immediately with a story naming three men as recipients of wiretap transcripts delivered to C.R.P. by Baldwin. That was a key point not brought out in the L.A. *Times* interview (“The story would be a significant advance

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on the . . . *Times* account . . ."). Trouble was, the story was wrong, the result of misinterpretation of garbled F.B.I. data. The officials cited by the *Post* had never been involved at all (" . . . the decision to rush into print was a mistake").

Why the rush? That is not completely clear, but pressure to stay ahead of the pack was obviously a factor. Woodstein describes Ben Bradlee's reaction to the Baldwin interview: "'I would like to have had that one,' Bradlee said the next day. He was not harsh, but he was grimacing, clutching his arms as he spoke, moving them quickly from side to side like a running halfback." Much later Bradlee again discussed keeping ahead of the opposition: "I can't go out and take notes for someone. I'm removed, and sometimes it frustrates hell out me. . . . I can't kick ass for getting scooped but I do let it be known that I feel let down and that I hate it, just hate it. Don't forget that I hate it."

Well, who doesn't? Certainly A. M. Rosenthal at the New York *Times* hates it. Even if Bradlee had never strutted through the city room crowing, "Eat your heart out, Abe," Rosenthal could be relied on to nibble away of his own volition. So the New York *Times* and others came back, often quite effectively. To their credit, the investigative reporters as a rule double- and triple-checked their leads before publishing. Given the heat of competition and the complexity of the material, there were surprisingly few screamers like the one concerning the wiretap transcripts. As Edward Jay Epstein pointed out in his survey of Watergate coverage, nearly all the major disclosures by the press were substantiated by subsequent events.

But factual accuracy is not the only measure. The Woodstein book repeatedly shows a sense of desperation. And if individual reporters were desperate to bust stories, their editors, once Watergate gathered momentum, did not prevent some strange things from happening. One result was the *Post's* attempt to approach grand jurors directly for information. Another was an accretion of marginal pieces, both in print and on the air, which seemed to serve no other purpose than to show that the running story was still alive. Some of these "scoops" only forecast what was to become available officially a day or a week later. Others stretched the leads that investigators were working

on into artificial exposés.

One of the oddest pieces appeared in *Newsweek* in July, 1973. In reporting what John Dean was telling investigators, *Newsweek* mentioned a most startling item: Dean had information to the effect that low-level White House aides had seriously considered arranging the murder of the president of Panama. That one has never been confirmed by anyone, including Dean.

Last January, the New York *Times*, under a three-column, page-one headline, ran a rather breathless story concerning an investigation of the possibility that Bahamian gambling money had meandered into the Nixon campaign kitty. The story was full of names and numbers that in fact led nowhere, except to the buried conclusion that no real proof of anything had yet been found.

It is unlikely that the *Times* would have published that story had it not been for the general atmosphere of Watergate. The same is true of the way several publications handled the Agnew investigation. A case can be made (though not a very strong one) that the unique nature of Watergate and the depth of the administration's dishonesty justified many eccentricities of coverage. The fact is that investigative reporters, by the nature of their work, usually operate without much direct competition on a given story. More often than not, a muckraker goes after something that is hidden from general view. He can usually take his time, developing his material slowly. The bleak side of competition turns up in situations, such as Watergate, Agnew, or the Eagleton case.

One effect of Watergate has been to make investigative reporting more fashionable than ever. It may remain in vogue indefinitely as publications and TV networks invest more reporter power in it. That prospect must delight anyone who applauds spunky, vital journalism. But the risks and temptations must also be acknowledged. Muckrakers are by definition the brash and hungry ones, not the card players in the corner of the press room. More scoopers mean more of the scooped, which in turn mean more editors hating it and eating their hearts out. That is part of the game, a legitimate part, as long as efforts to get even stop short of distorting judgment and bending standards.





The "crisis" in science may be another name for merely modest prosperity.

DANIEL S. GREENBERG

■ So sweet are the uses of adversity that, when absent, it may be invented, and when present, it may be magnified.

Retain that thought as we consider recent efforts of the American scientific community to depict itself as in crisis. ("There is currently a crisis for all of science!" proclaims an article in the April, 1974, issue of *Bioscience*, journal of the American Institute of Biological Sciences.) The crisis is generally said to originate in public hostility and media indifference, with such malign effects as diminished federal support for research, declining student enrollments in science and technology, unemployment among scientists and engineers, jeopardy to the international scientific standing of the U.S., and delay in the progress of science itself. Science, leaders of the profession routinely contend, is a wounded enterprise ("falling into shambles," said Philip Handler, president of the National Academy of Sciences, the nation's most prestigious scientific society, when he testified before Congress in 1970). And the chosen cure is persuasion of the public—through the media—that science is good but suffering. Thus, a variety of government and foundation programs have sought to stimulate public comprehension of the

benefits that can be obtained only through generous support of research.

These programs, financed principally by the National Science Foundation (NSF) at a current rate of about \$1.4 million a year, take two forms, though the evangelical motive underlies both: first, there are efforts to expand and improve the translation of science for the laymen. Typical of these are the annual seminars that the American Cancer Society, apart from NSF's programs, sponsors to inform medical writers of current developments in cancer research. Another example is the new Nova series of TV science documentaries that WGBH-Boston has prepared with financial assistance originating in NSF and other sources.

Other efforts are more in the tradition of soap peddling, for their objective is not simply to educate the public about developments in science, but rather to persuade the public that science is a virtuous activity much in need of help. (Some of the activities that the scientific community has organized to arouse public sympathy are noted in the box on page 18.) To take note of the existence of this tactic is not necessarily to be "anti-science." Instead, it is to raise doubts about the desirability of a tax-subsidized excursion into panic tactics by leaders of a segment of society that ought to be a model of accuracy and reliability.

Since science is an essential ingredient in human well-being, remedies, including, if necessary, prop-

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aganda in its behalf, ought instantly to be applied if the research enterprise is indeed in crisis. But as one who once swallowed the "crisis" theory and occasionally regurgitated it intact in alarmist writings, I now wonder whether our colleagues in the scientific community haven't been using the press for their own self-serving purposes. To examine this possibility, it is illuminating to skim some of the lugubrious documentation emanating from the halls of science in recent years and to compare its substance with data compiled by the scientific community's own statistical services.

In 1968, the New York Academy of Sciences, stirred by the failure of federal support for research to continue to grow at the torrential rate that had prevailed since the end of the previous decade, convened a mournful meeting on "The Crisis Facing American Science," at which ominous forecasts of the disintegration of the national research enterprise were delivered to the faithful. Two years later, the National Academy of Sciences convened a meeting on "The Crisis in the Federal Funding of Science," where virtually the same script was employed. Last year, Paul Berg, chairman of the Stanford University department of biochemistry, warned that if funding did not improve, the nation faces "the virtual dismantling of the foremost health sciences research program in the world."

Taking these doomsayers at face value, the press generally echoed their dirges without application of critical scrutiny.

Against this background of alleged crisis, let us pass on to the firmest available data on the state of American science relative to the rest of the world, public attitudes toward science and several other matters—as discussed and documented in July, 1973, in a report entitled *Science Indicators*, by the National Science Board (NSB), the policy-making body of the National Science Foundation, which is the federal government's principal agency for supporting academic research and scientific training. The board, consisting of 24 senior scientists, academic and industrial research administrators, plus the director of NSF, is probably as pro-science a group as can be assembled in this land, and cannot be charged with collusion in Nixon Administration penny-pinching.

Citing an examination of 500 research journals from around the world—a number embracing virtually all scientific and technical journals worthy of note—covered by the computerized and respected *Science Citation Index*, the NSB report states:

"The United States has a larger share of the literature in each of the areas (except for chemistry and metallurgy) than any other country. The U.S. share, as well as those of other countries, shows little change over the short period (1965-71) covered by the data." For the uninitiated in the relevance of this finding, let it be noted that literature, and literature alone, is the end product of scientific research. Literature production is the measure of scientific *productivity*.

As for the *quality* of the output, the standard measure is how often a scientific paper is cited in another paper, the presumption being that if a paper is scientifically significant, other researchers will cite it and take up where it left off. States the Board report: "Overall, the U.S.-produced literature had the highest significance ratio in five of seven fields, with systematic biology and mathematics [where Britain held the lead] the two exceptions."

As for sheer output, however, "in molecular biology, the United States produces almost one-half the world's literature," the board reported. In chemistry and metallurgy the Soviet Union (traditionally strong in these fields) held the world lead with 29 per cent of the literature, but the U.S. was close behind, with 24 per cent.

In physics, the howls of whose practitioners suggest the imminent arrival of the sheriff, padlock in hand, at the laboratory door, the U.S. produced some 40 per cent of the world literature, as compared with about 15 per cent for the Soviet Union, and between 5 and 8 per cent each for France, Britain, West Germany, and Japan. In engineering, the U.S. accounted for about half of the world's literature; the Soviet Union 12 per cent, and Britain 10 per cent.

Relatively speaking, not a bad performance for an enterprise that is "falling into shambles."

With regard to unemployment among highly trained scientists and engineers, the outcries from the professional leaders have tended to convey

an impression of breadlines filled with PhD's—and the press has unskeptically projected this image through interviews with hot-dog peddling electronics engineers. The misery that can result from lack of desirable work cannot be minimized, and there is no doubt that abrupt cutbacks in space and defense research spending eliminated the jobs of many highly trained people, and that a good number of them underwent hardship. Having noted that, however, it is also worth considering that in 1971, when the unemployment rate in the U.S. stood at six per cent for all workers, unemployment among doctoral-level scientists was 1.4 per cent and among engineers 1.9 per cent. Nevertheless, in a speech in 1971, titled, "In Defense of Science," Academy President Handler deplored the "wholesale unemployment of technically trained individuals."

Another frequent lament of the leadership of science is that irrationality is on the rise and that among its consequences is a revulsion toward science on the part of youth. Typical of this perception is a communication from a midwestern college administrator published in the newsletter of the Harvard Program on Public Conceptions of Science: "Back in 1966, I first became sufficiently

concerned about anti-science attitudes which were growing rather strongly among college students. . . . (T)hese attitudes viewed the impacts of science and technology on society through spectacles of emotion (and some fear). As a result, their judgments on those impacts were irrational and, I regret to say, based all too frequently on ignorance. To mount a modest response to this irrationality and ignorance, I instituted a college-level course, Science and Society. . . ."

Now, if a significant youth "revolt" against science has taken place, it should manifest itself in the courses of study chosen at colleges and graduate schools. (Admittedly, bread-and-butter considerations as well as ethical and personal concerns figure in students' career choices.) Figures compiled by the U.S. Office of Education's National Center for Educational Statistics do not support any clearcut conclusions, including the view that there is a growing youthful aversion to science. In brief, the figures show that, in the decade since the autumn of 1961, the *percentage* of students opting for science or engineering majors, or advanced-degree programs in those fields, dropped sharply, but at the same time, the total *numbers* rose sharply. For example, the physical

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## In pursuit of public understanding . . .

With \$120,000 from NSF, the Rockefeller University Press earlier this year published a modestly titled volume, "The Greatest Adventure: Basic Research that Shapes Our Lives." Consisting of 16 essays on scientific research, it contains a preface by Isaac Asimov, who states, "We can only make the general rule that, through all of history, an increased understanding of the universe, however out-of-the-way a particular bit of new knowledge may seem, however ethereal, however abstract, however useless, has always ended in some practical application (even if sometimes only indirectly)." Which, as any working scientist will tell you, is demonstrably untrue, since most scientific papers—and if they are scientific papers they presumably convey an increased understanding of some aspect of the universe—disappear without a

ripple after publication—never noted, cited, or followed up. And few patents, which by definition concern "practical application," are ever carried through to the production stage.

Asimov also states, "In fact, unless we continue with science and gather knowledge, whether or not it seems useful on the spot, we will be buried under our problems and find no way out." It would seem that this argument begs the question. Nary a responsible critic of the contemporary scientific scene has called for a cessation of science or the gathering of knowledge. Rather, the squabbling, to the extent that there has been any, has been over such matters as the ethical problems involved in the use of human experimental subjects and the uncertainties of what should be researched when the promising possibilities exceed the avail-

sciences—toward which students are alleged to be especially dour because of military applicability—accounted for 4.1 per cent of all undergraduate degrees at the beginning of the decade, but only 2.4 per cent at the end. However, the annual number of bachelor's degrees in the physical sciences rose from 15,452 to 21,160 during the same period. Master's degrees, as a percentage of the total awarded, declined from 4.4 per cent to 2.7 per cent, but the totals rose from 3,786 to 6,550. The percentage decline in PhD's was also sharp—from 18.3 per cent to 13 per cent, but, again, we ended up with a great many more PhD's in the physical sciences, since the number awarded rose from 1,193 to 3,850.

Figures for the biological sciences show near-steadiness in the percentage of undergraduates receiving degrees in those fields—4.3 per cent at the beginning of the decade, and 4.2 per cent at the end. But the numbers more than doubled, rising from 15,861 to 36,870. The same pattern was more or less followed at the master's and doctoral levels.

Engineering, which has been most afflicted by the ups and downs of defense and space spending, shows a similar pattern of percentages down and numbers up. But engineering provides an espe-

cially intriguing clue to the importance of paycheck power in selection of courses of study: recent graduating classes—which began their studies in more affluent times—have been numerically at record highs, while recent incoming classes have been at record lows.

These figures are vulnerable to a variety of interpretations, but one that is as plausible as any is that amidst reports of high unemployment in professions related to the physical sciences, a lot of students with scientific talent have wisely shifted their career aims from one field of science-related study to another, with a portion of the shifts apparently in the direction of medicine, commonly regarded to be "recession-proof." Some support for this hypothesis is to be found in figures compiled by the American Council on Education concerning change in majors by junior-year students between 1970 and 1971, a period in which the most doleful cries of financial distress were emanating from the scientific community. The largest decline was in physics, where 8.4 per cent of those who had previously declared for that subject decided to choose another major. Engineering lost 7.3 per cent; chemistry 2.2 per cent, and mathematics 0.6 per cent. Meanwhile, "pre-professional

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able resources. As far as the book is concerned, however, the issue is close to moot, since this \$120,000 venture had, as of the end of April, produced 1250 sales, at \$9.80 each.

Other public relations programs funded by NSF include \$38,000 given to the American Chemical Society to establish an exhibit center in Delaware to "explain how advances in technology have contributed to economic and social progress. . . . [The exhibits] will help the public understand and support the beneficial use of science and technology in solving today's complex problems and those of the future," stated an NSF announcement; NSF gave \$80,000 to the Missouri School of Journalism for a "research study . . . on alternate methods of communicating science to the public" by means of radio and television newscasts. A grant of \$18,200 went to the Maryland Academy of Sciences in 1970 for a lecture series in which "the Academy will encourage speakers to

emphasize the ways in which science in general helps man to understand his economic, social and environmental problems. In order to extend the effects of the program beyond the immediate audiences, the Academy will send out news releases on all engagements and invite news media representatives to cover the programs;" NSF gave \$95,000 in 1973 to support "televised forums on economic issues." The notice of the award stated, "This project has evolved from the concern of many leading economists that recent difficult episodes in the U.S. economic system have led to a loss of confidence by the American people in government and the free market system. To renew this confidence, the public must have improved understanding of the major economic issues now facing the nation, their causes, and alternative courses of action" (why confidence in the free market system should be renewed at government expense was not explained). D.G.



life sciences," presumably leading to medical or dental training, went up 26.7 per cent.

Grounds for questioning the revolt theory are also to be found in statistics on doctoral degree awards, as compiled by the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences. Between 1971 and 1972, there was, in fact, a decline in degrees awarded in the sciences, but the decline was so minuscule as to defy firm interpretation. Over that two-year period, PhD's in the physical sciences dropped from 4,494 to 4,226; in the life sciences, the decline was from 5,051 to 4,984, while in engineering, the figures went from 3,495 to 3,475. In mathematics, however, there was an increase—from 1,236 to 1,281. What is of great significance, but rarely mentioned, is that the number of PhD's awarded in the sciences has increased, depending on the field of study, anywhere from 25 to 50 per cent since 1965. That increase, it should be observed, occurred during the height of the Vietnam war, which, according to the crisis theorists, was in large part responsible for turning youth against science.

Having said it so often, the leaders of the scientific community have fallen into accepting as beyond dispute that large portions of the American public are hostile to science. For example, in 1970, Glenn Seaborg, then chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, told Congress that "there are indications that some segments of the public have lost faith in science and technology and question the amount of support that they should have at this time. They fail to see—and it is difficult to blame them, since few of us have made a good case for them—why they should increase the support of forces that seem to be bringing them a set of intolerable conditions." (Seaborg, who was then responsible for promoting the development of nuclear power, was, of course, equating public aversion to being accidentally irradiated with public hostility to science. The two sentiments are often confused by the evangelists of science.)

To examine public attitudes toward science, the National Science Board commissioned the Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton, N.J., to conduct one of the few systematic polls ever taken on the much-discussed subject of what the American public actually thinks about science, as dis-

tinct from what some scientists contend the public thinks.

On the basis of a nationwide sampling numbering 2,209 persons 18 years of age and older who were interviewed in May and June 1972, the pollsters produced findings that show the American people describing themselves as extremely well-disposed toward science and technology, toward those who perform it, and toward the products associated with it. Thus, in response to the question, "Do you feel that science and technology have changed life for the better or for the worse?" 70 per cent responded "better" and only eight per cent responded "worse."

Asked to rate the "prestige or general standing" of nine major professions in terms of "excellent," "good," or "average," the respondents put the job of physician at the top with an "excellent" rating of 66 per cent; next came scientist, with 59 per cent, followed by minister and lawyer, each with 44 per cent. Engineer and architect were each rated "excellent" by 40 per cent. At the bottom came businessman, with 20 per cent.

The pollsters asked: "Do you feel that science and technology have caused most of our problems, some of our problems, few of our problems, or none of our problems?"

In response, seven per cent opted for "most of our problems," 48 per cent for "some," 27 per cent for "few," and nine per cent for "none"—which, even allowing for the muddled composition of the question, scarcely suggests a populace paralyzed with fear, wondering where Dr. Frankenstein will strike next.

Finally, it is enlightening to compare answers to one of the poll's questions and a standard lamentation of the leadership of science, as voiced, in this case, in 1971 by Dr. Handler. "Increasingly disconcerting to me," he stated, "is the loss of faith in the belief that science is the principal instrument for alleviating the condition of man."

The pollsters asked: "Do you feel that science and technology will eventually solve most problems such as pollution, disease, drug abuse, and crime, some of these problems or few, if any, of these problems?"

Of those expressing an opinion, 30 per cent chose "most," and 47 per cent replied "some,"



which, considering the historic insolubility of most if not all of the problems cited, indicates that, contrary to Dr. Handler's anxiety over public "loss of faith," an overwhelming majority of the public believes that science will eventually alleviate some of society's worst afflictions.

Now for another article of faith that is part of the crisis mentality of the scientific community, namely, that the news media are by and large ignorant of and indifferent to news about science.

Typical of the bellringers in this regard is a recommendation contained in a 1,065-page pitch

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## ***"The \$500,000 PR fund was not created . . ."***

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for more money for physics, titled, "Physics in Perspective," prepared and published by the National Academy of Sciences in 1972.

"Science is generally regarded as a vital element of western culture," it states. "Physicists, and indeed all scientists, owe it to themselves and to society to develop increased public awareness of this relationship. Yet despite much lip service, little use has been made of public information media to fulfill this obligation to the public. . . ." The report went on to recommend that each of the approximately 50,000 members of the American Institute of Physics be assessed at least \$10 per year "to further the use of mass media for informing the public" about physics. (The recommendation went unheeded, much to the relief of the press relations staff of the institute, who readily perceived that a \$500,000 slush fund for PR in behalf of physics would instantly draw the ire of physicists who had unsuccessfully sought money for research, and that Congress, which votes most of the money for physics, might respond apoplectically.)

Talk about inadequate scientific coverage is international. Last April, for example, the European Union of Associations of Scientific Journalists met

in Salzburg, and, following three days of deliberations, issued a declaration that stated, in part: "Science popularization is not sufficient today when the size and costs of the scientific venture and the exploitation of its results for good or evil oblige the scientific journalist to be an observer, interpreter and critic of scientific developments." Not mentioned was what constitutes "sufficiency" and how one is to know when it has been attained.

Several problems confront efforts to assess the adequacy of the media's coverage of scientific matters: the first question is, what qualifies as scientific coverage? Is the threshold a documentary feature on, let's say, the genetic code, or does a brief item on a botulism case or cleanup of an oil spill also qualify? The definitional problem clouds the very few efforts that have been made to quantify scientific coverage, or the lack thereof. Not surprisingly, the result has often been that scientific coverage turns out to be in the eye of the beholder. Thus, in separate reports to the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), which is extremely active in attempting to promote the public understanding of science, two leading producers of TV science films reported what appear to be markedly different measures of the amount of scientific coverage on TV. On the basis of an analysis of the program content of the three major networks for the month of April in 1968, 1969, and 1970, David Prowitt noted several inadequacies, but concluded, "In general, however, network news appears to be doing a creditable job of reporting extremely complex science stories for a general audience within the time limitations of a news program. The "Today" show, he noted, "presents a surprising amount and variety of science material. . . ." NBC's evening news "covered 12 science stories in April, 1968, 24 in April, 1969, and 22 in April, 1970."

However, Michael Ambrosino reported to the AAAS that, for the 1972-73 season, "Except for the coverage of Apollo 17, fewer than 25 out of 4,368 scheduled prime-time network hours are to be devoted to science—about 0.5 per cent of the total. . . . [N]etwork television, including network public television, simply ignores science."

The years under discussion were different, but it is doubtful that so extraordinary a shift oc-

curred between 1968-70 and 1972-73 that network coverage of science plummeted from "credible" to total oblivion.

Nevertheless, with little evidence on the subject (the director of NSF's Public Understanding of Science program reports that the subject of media coverage of science has, to his knowledge, not been systematically examined on a national basis), the scientific community and its grantee retainers in or on the fringes of journalism routinely take the position that the American public is denied a proper ration of scientific news. The dearth, in fact, is considered to be so serious that the AAAS, which has a \$600,000, three-year grant from NSF to promote the public understanding of science, is devoting part of the money to a Science Information Service that provides, without charge, science feature articles to several hundred newspapers around the country.

It is doubtful that any amount of scientific news coverage would satisfy the anxiety-ridden leaders

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## "One of the most disruptive odysseys known to man . . ."

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of the scientific community. But in the absence of firm data showing how much coverage is presented to the public, it might be observed that any citizen seeking popularized treatment of contemporary research need venture no farther than his local newsstand, where he will find a surfeit of publications that, in whole or part, aim to satisfy his interest, including *Scientific American* (though that's too difficult for most laymen) and *Time* and *Newsweek*, each with regular and skillfully produced sections on science and medicine, and often, on energy and environmental affairs. Then there is *Psychology Today*, which does a commendable job of translating the social sciences. *Science News*, published by Science Service, attempts to cover all the sciences in layman's lan-

guage. And somewhere in the region between tinkering and engineering, are *Popular Science* and *Popular Mechanics*. *Fortune*, *Business Week*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *Forbes*, and other business publications regularly display talent and aggressiveness in covering the interaction between research and economic activity. And, taking a generous view of what constitutes scientific coverage, the popular women's magazines need not be faulted for their attention to health, nutrition, and child development.

What, then, accounts for the scientific community's obviously heartfelt conviction that it is surrounded by a hostile population, ignored by the media, undersupported by the government, and, in general, facing a dismal future? Why, when the traditions of science call for pursuing truth wherever it may lead, do the leaders of the community react with fear and rage to scholarly questioning of some of the values and effects of science and technology? For example, largely inspired by Theodore Roszak's brilliant work, "Where the Wasteland Ends," the American Academy of Arts and Sciences—with funds provided by NSF's public understanding program—is devoting an entire issue of *Daedalus* to "irrational attacks on science."

The recent state of mind of the leadership of the scientific community can be attributed, I believe, to the fact that over the past quarter century or so their profession has undergone one of the most emotionally disruptive odysseys known to man or institution, namely, the progression up from poverty and neglect to riches and power—and then down to mere prosperity and moderate influence. Science was an impoverished orphan prior to World War II. Nuclear weaponry and then the Cold War brought it not only recognition and generous government support, but also power and visibility in Washington. (Federal expenditures for research and development rose from \$74 million in 1940 to \$15 billion in 1968; the military, space, and atomic energy got the bulk of this expanding sum, but whatever the departmental label may have been, the money nourished science as never before.) Starting with World War II, scientific advice was sought out in Washington to deal with the gravest matters of national

security, and following Sputnik, it was institutionalized at the White House level with the creation of the position of special assistant to the president for science and technology.

This was pretty heady stuff for a bunch of previously obscure professors who had grown up at a time when commitment to a scientific career usually involved a pact with poverty.

The bubble began to deflate in the mid-1960's, when, first, Congress began to balk at ever-expanding budgets for research, and then the costs of Vietnam strained the availability of federal funds. In addition, Lyndon Johnson, enraged by academic opposition to the war, took to virtually

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## *"An even more dismal atmosphere for once revered leaders . . ."*

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ignoring his scientific advisers, since most of them were of academic origin. (The elders of the community tell horror stories of Johnson spitefully penciling out this or that scientific project from the federal budget.)

Mr. Nixon's arrival in the White House produced an even more dismal atmosphere for the once-revered leaders of science. Though the research and development budget continued to grow—it's up to \$19 billion this year—the growth failed to keep pace with inflation, which meant that, though American science continued to be a vast enterprise by the standards of any other nation, it lacked the growth element that an entire generation of leaders had come to expect. And then came a blow that ranked only second to diminished purchasing power in terms of psychological pain: Mr. Nixon abolished the White House science office, and the post of special assistant to the president for science and technology, on the grounds that science advice was unneeded at the White House level. (The debris of that office and the adviser's job were relegated to the po-

litical hinterlands of the Office of the Director of the National Science Foundation, with the understanding that if the President required science advice, he would call upon the director.)

Against this background of diminished money and political stature, it is understandable that the elders of science are possessed by visions of doom, and that they have taken to the well-trodden route of public relations to recoup their fortunes.

There is no excuse, however, for the press to become their uncritical instrument. At present, the view that science is in critical condition has become an article of faith in much of the media and is often echoed without the skepticism that would routinely be applied to other matters.

I cite, in closing, a typical example, drawn from a New York *Times* account of a cancer researcher recently accused of publishing faked results. ". . . Scientists interviewed by the *Times*," the article reported, "said that the situation was symptomatic of a growing problem in science—fierce competition for recognition and research funds, which in recent years has become particularly intense following cutbacks in federal research grants under the Nixon Administration."

What might also have been pointed out is that the history of research, in times of poverty and affluence, is amply cratered with fraud, with perhaps the Piltdown hoax being the best known. And, though the motives involved in the case reported by the *Times* are not stated, it might also have been useful to point out that, in this period of scientific "crisis," federal funds for cancer research have been increased prodigiously and are at a record high.

The incident is a minor one in the annals of science coverage, but it nicely reflects a dilemma for both journalists and scientists: by now they have each reinforced the other's perceptions of science as being in a state of crisis. The processes of skepticism that are integral to both the professions have been put aside. Science takes it for granted that science is in crisis, journalism unthinkingly parrots this self-serving perception. When people on either side of the relationship encounter facts that conflict with the myth of crisis, the myth prevails by a kind of herd instinct that misleads both professions.



## Sex, death and other trends in magazines

Some observations offered after  
looking at 115 magazines for two days

EDWARD W. BARRETT

■ One day in early 1974, I found myself, with six others, in a huge meeting room filled with magazines—numerous enough and dated enough to fill 50 doctors' offices. These particular magazines, however, were neatly arranged in 285 piles, each with an entry number, on rows of tables. The 285 entries came from 115 magazines and represented the heaviest load yet for judges in the National Magazine Awards at Columbia University.\*

There were huge magazines and thin magazines, lush magazines and shoestring magazines. No human being could possibly read them all in the allotted two days. We could, however, draw upon the advice of "screeners," the selection committee of twelve drawn from the magazine profession and from academia. We could recall our reading done during the year. We could and did divide up cate-

gories among judges, at least sample all the entries, confer repeatedly, then go back and read more carefully.

Out of it all came not only six awards in six categories but a rather clear set of impressions on the state of the magazine field in America. This judge, for one, saw specialization and sub-specialization increasing. (There is now a magazine for new lawyers and one for young physicians.) I saw a field being deeply affected by mounting postal rates. (A number—including *Fortune*, *McCall's* and *Esquire*—have reduced their page size and bulk. Some were going in for hard sell on their covers in obvious quest of newsstand sales instead of subscribers.) I saw recent rapid growth in national magazines mainly among those that evoked no particular admiration from the judges. Yet, like my fellow judges, I saw vigor and vitality in investigative reporting, in independent local and

\* The National Magazine Awards Judges were: William B. Arthur, National News Council; Richard T. Baker, professor, Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University; Edward W. Barrett, director, Communications Institute, Academy for Educational Development, Inc.; Marvin Barrett, director, Alfred I. duPont-Columbia University Survey and Awards Program; Martha Peterson, president, Barnard College; Theodore Peterson, dean, College of Journalism and Communications, University of Illinois; and William Porter, professor of journalism, University of Michigan.

Edward W. Barrett, a former magazine editor and long-time dean of Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism, is director of the Communications Institute in New York.





regional magazines, in better and more handsome specialized magazines, and in thorough handling of complex subjects like the energy crisis. Other impressions included these:

- Magazines, more than the daily press, mirror the mood, the mores, and the faddish tastes of society. In recent years, for example, they dealt heavily with ghettos and poverty, with bold treatment of sexual subjects, with the youth "revolution" and with inadequacies in the education system. In 1973, there was heavy emphasis on the "new" role of women, on the energy shortage, and on the "decline of confidence" among citizens generally. Treatment of sexual subjects became even more explicit, with such subjects as orgasm and erections becoming commonplace even in relatively restrained publications. Also evident were the beginnings of a more outspoken treatment of death, with emphasis on allowing death with dignity to those whom technology could keep alive indefinitely as vegetables. And there was new stress on the family pocketbook, strained by national "stagflation."

- A host of magazines dealt intelligently and informatively with the complexities of the energy crisis. Some were admirably foresighted. *Intellectual Digest*, for example, started its thorough series in 1972, before many dreamed of two-hour gas lines. Yet the judges noted little foresight on the world food shortage that now seems imminent.

- The fastest growing faddish magazines of the year seemed to be the nudity books—*Playboy*, *Penthouse*, *Playgirl*, etc. Even the newcomer *Playgirl* claimed to have grown from an initial 600,000 circulation to a distribution of two million in its first year. Perhaps because staff members and writers move from one to another in a continuing, incestuous procession, the magazines have much

in common. They grow increasingly "bold" in art and text, yet offer sprinklings of serious articles on Watergate or Vietnam or other national issues. Having long-since introduced pubic hair, they (with *Playgirl* leading) now offer full-front males. (Whether this is progress is debatable. The male apparatus may be a handy thing to have on a picnic, as a *Punch* writer recalled, but it does not seem singularly photogenic.) In any event, the trend may yet benefit society. It may ultimately satiate juveniles of all ages with photos of breasts and genitals that they will occasionally read and think of other matters. (Already in 1974 there has been a slackening in *Playboy's* sales.)

- Such so-called women's magazines as *McCall's* and *Ladies' Home Journal* have kept up a commendable level of service material, fiction, and occasional public-service articles—all in a pleasing visual package. But they are obviously worried about the Postal Service's rates, already doubled since 1971 and still scheduled to double again within five years. They are seeking to improve newsstand appeal and reduce subscriptions. Meanwhile, the spectacular growth in the field is that of *Woman's Day* and *Family Circle*, which are sold at supermarket checkout counters and tend to offer more prosaic fare on casseroles and hairdos.

- In design, *Vogue* continues striking and the *New Yorker* mundane (except for covers and cartoons), while some of the other old standbys in visual excellence suffer from the restrictions of smaller pages induced by postage rates. Innovation was rare in 1973, and the judges gave the visual-excellence award to an off-beat selection, *Newsweek*, for clever and eye-catching covers and for a "visually exciting" article on the arts. It was notable, however, that many of the specialized magazines had moved up from visual muddiness

to a respectable level of style and eye-appeal.

- Replacements for the late, great general audience magazines (*Life*, *Look*, *Post*, *Colliers*) are neither in evidence nor on the horizon. *Reader's Digest* continues to prosper, but its publishers are reputedly profiting much less from the magazine than from selling books to the *Digest* mailing lists.

- In the Watergate year, the big achievers were daily newspapers, notably the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*. *Newsweek* and *Time*, however, won plaudits from the judges for their thorough, full and often enterprising coverage of the Washington scandals, though there was a vague sense that each had exceeded the bounds of impartiality on rare occasions. The *New Yorker*, which won prizes for fiction and for reporting excellence, also was informally commended for its opening-page Watergate commentaries that seemed deftly to speak for the conscience of the country, or at least 75 per cent of the country.

- Time, Inc.'s, new ventures, *Money* and *People*, were noted without particular applause. Each was viewed as likely to prove successful but as lacking much of the thoroughness, skilled editing and high polish normally associated with Time, Inc., publications. *People*, not launched until 1974, was informally evaluated as superficial, jazzed up (though without preoccupation with sex), and clearly designed for light reading and newsstand sales. Two judges (including this one), however, did not write it off. Recalling *Look's* progress

from third-rate journalism to commendable quality, they felt *People*, after gaining initial circulation, just might draw on Time, Inc.'s, resources to do some exemplary reporting at a later date.

- In the new age of consumerism, bold and enterprising reporting to protect readers from sleazy goods and services seemed less evident in magazines than in other media.

- One healthy trend was what appeared to the jurors to be increasing vitality, independence and forthrightness on the part of a number of local and regional magazines. In a new field noted for the achievements of publications like *Philadelphia* and *The Washingtonian*, a growing number of such publications have told stories that needed to be told and investigated things that needed investigation. *New York* is a vigorous example. The *Texas Monthly*, which was awarded a prize for general excellence in specialized journalism, is an alert and impressive new entry. Among the virtues of such publications is that of prodding the sometimes somnolent daily press and helping to keep both the dailies and local news broadcasters honest.

Contemplating the wide array of 1973 magazines, this observer deduced anew that success comes most easily today to: (1) those having an aura of indispensability to readers with special interests (whether regional, occupational, recreational or erotic), and (2), in occasional cases, those providing easy, light reading for citizens traveling or otherwise out of reach of the TV screen.

Part of the problem doubtless stems from the disturbing conditions reported by Gallup surveys. In the distant year of 1938, they had found Americans' "favorite way to spend an evening" was reading, followed by movies-theater and dancing. In early 1974, the answers to the same questions ranked in this order:

Watching television	46%
Reading	14%
Dining out	12%
Family activities at home	10%
Movies-theater	9%

Contemplation of those figures and their implications evokes warm sympathy for the general-magazine executive who seeks both commercial success and editorial quality.

### Winners of the 1974 National Magazine Awards:

Public Service: *Scientific American*

Specialized Journalism: *Texas Monthly*

Visual Excellence: *Newsweek*

Fiction and Belles Lettres: *The New Yorker*

Reporting Excellence: *The New Yorker*

Service to the Individual: *Sports Illustrated*



**Reporter at work:** TV critic Norman Mark photographed at Bob Hope's golf course (wearing a Bob Hope cap).

## TV Junketeers

The West Coast tours  
often produce mushy criticism.

**NORMAN MARK**

- Glenn Ford was asked what he would do with his beautiful home if, God forbid, he should die. He said he would give it to his son.

- James Cagney was asked, of all the deaths of his close friends, which affected him the most.

- A real-life secretary who was about to portray a secretary on "Bracken's World" was asked how many words per minute she typed. "Fifty words per minute," she responded, but the reporter persisted: "Electric or manual?"

Those are some of the questions asked of TV stars during recent junkets for TV critics on the West Coast. They suggest the low level of journalistic enterprise during the semi-annual westward migrations hosted by the three TV networks.

Most criticisms of the TV junkets have focussed on who pays the bills (generally, the networks do). But there are other, perhaps more serious, issues. Tight scheduling, mass press conferences and a

general *gemütlich* atmosphere tend to discourage the independent effort necessary to the best kind of critical journalism. As Ron Powers, Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, says, "The whole climate there discourages initiative, enterprise and the seeking out of your own sources."

The problems begin when the networks send out the invitations. The only requirement for attending these network sessions is that the guest write about TV some of the time, that he or she work for a major paper in an important city and, apparently, that he or she refrain from being too nasty in the trade papers. (Harry Harris of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* was banned from NBC junkets for a year because he wrote a story complaining about problems during the trips.)

And those who do attend sometimes fail to get to the bottom of the stories they write. Last January, several critics dutifully quoted Jack Lord as he described the joys of directing an episode of "Hawaii-Five-O." But they did not attend the screening of the episode that followed the inter-

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Norman Mark has been the radio-TV critic of the *Chicago Daily News* for the last four and a half years. He has attended junkets paid for by the networks—and paid for by his company.

view with Lord. Those who did see the results of Lord's efforts, a show that concluded with a son blowing up his father and himself, generally loathed the program.

The schedule of back-to-back briefings discourages initiative. Junket days generally begin at 7:30 or 8 a.m. with breakfast and a mass interview with corporation executives, who often reveal that culturally uplifting programming will be aired in the future (the shows will probably be broadcast opposite "All in the Family" on New Year's Day, when even the most devoted TV critics find it inconvenient to be uplifted).

The critics are then divided into groups, usually ten to a room, although CBS can stuff more than twenty scribes into a single group. The group sits in the same penthouse suite or meeting room all day until that particular network's junket ends. The stars move from room to room, giving each group a carefully planned portion of their time.

Interview lengths are measured in minutes, rather than hours. A particularly busy day occurred on June 28, 1972, when ABC had the following schedule for Green Group, a name given to those with green name tags:

- 9:30 a.m. Rosalind Russell
- 10:20 a.m. The Rookies
- 11:10 a.m. Harry Reasoner
- Noon Cocktails
- 12:30 p.m. Elmer Lower, president of ABC News, answers questions during lunch.
- 3:00 p.m. Screening of an hour-long TV film
- 4:30 p.m. Depart for Burbank Studios by bus
- 5:30 p.m. Cleavon Little
- 6:10 p.m. Paul Lynde
- 6:50 p.m. James Whitmore
- 7:45 p.m. Cocktails and dinner with the casts of "The Partridge Family," "Temperatures Rising," and "The Paul Lynde Show."
- 10:15 p.m. Buses depart. Hospitality suite will be open back at the hotel.

(I believe it was after this day that Pete Rahn of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* first said that spending so much time talking about each net-

work's new season was "like watching people rearrange deck chairs on the *Titanic*.")

The critics must also attend most of the planned activities, despite the fact that many of the events aren't very newsworthy. (Joyce Wagner of the Kansas City *Star* was also banned from NBC junkets. NBC says it was because she missed too many events. Miss Wagner says it's because she criticized NBC's refusal to allow reviews to appear in print before the shows are seen by the public.)

Not all the critics' time on the Coast is spent jammed together in smoky hotel suites listening to stars drool about their new series. Jack Benny might entertain the critics for 90 minutes one night. They might play golf on the fairways adjoining Bob Hope's home or go for a ride on John Wayne's yacht, a converted minesweeper. Another evening, the critics might dine with Miss Julie Andrews at the California Yacht Club on cream of onion soup *bourgeoise* and lobster mousse à la Andrews (with Graacher *Himmelreich-Im-Himmelreich* wine), filet of beef *en chevreuil* with Bordelaise sauce, spinach soufflé, macaire potatoes (with a fair St. Julien Bordeaux wine), topped off by fresh strawberries *Bavarois* with *aurore* sauce, and Courvoisier. Or they might go to Lucille Ball's home and see their names written on the awnings erected over the outdoor picnic tables.

But even this kind of lavish entertainment pales in comparison with the pioneer days of the 50's and 60's, when the networks and advertisers were even more extravagant and the critics were wilder:

- Once, the critics boarded a ship in Los Angeles and cruised to San Francisco while a blimp overhead flashed their names in lights (an effect unfortunately obscured by a night-time fog).
- After being flown to Mexico City, the critics attended a bull fight; one writer was slightly gored. Actress Barbara Eden also attempted a few passes with a baby bull and emerged unscathed.
- Poolside interviews were arranged during one junket, but an artificial waterfall near the pool was so noisy that the critics couldn't hear what the TV stars were saying. One writer got so disgusted that he left the conversation and jumped into the pool. Alas, it was the shallow end and the man received several cuts.



- On a trip to Canada, the TV journalists landed in Montreal, Quebec, Toronto and other cities. American TV stars were assigned to be companions of the critics at each stop. (That sort of deluxe treatment can backfire. Dwight Newton of the San Francisco *Examiner* wrote an entire column about the tulips of Ottawa and never mentioned the Screen Gems starlet assigned to escort him for the day. Apparently he felt that the tulips were more interesting.)

- In New York, Mary Wood of the Cincinnati *Post* and *Times-Star* drank a bit too much, went to sleep in her room and, on the way to the washroom, accidentally went out the wrong door, thus locking herself out of her room in the Plaza Hotel. She sleeps in the nude, her colleagues learned.

- In London, the critics decided to give their week-old gift bouquets to Tony La Camera of the

Boston *Herald American*. They gathered outside his room at 4 a.m. and serenaded him until he woke up. Unfortunately, they were outside the wrong room, a fact which angered the occupant immensely.

All of this critic-star-network camaraderie is not without effect. As Ron Powers points out: "I think the networks know very well that a group psychology develops, in which there is a climate of good fellowship. There is a slanting toward the middle. Nobody wants to be out on the fringe, asking the provocative questions. The very fact that we mingle with the subjects of the interviews over cocktails before and after the sessions discourages adversary questions."

Journalists who want to know when the star last visited Boston and which child of which wife is

### Bright (and not so bright) writing inspired by the junkets

The columns inspired by the junkets are often uneven. There is some bright writing and vivid phrasing: consider the following, all written in January, 1974, by junketeers:

Dwight Newton, San Francisco *Examiner*: "There is nothing wrong with American sports that organized television can't completely sabotage given time."

Terrence O'Flaherty, San Francisco *Chronicle*: Marlo Thomas's home is "one of those mountain-top places in Beverly Hills cunningly concealed from all but Alpine goats and party caterers."

Hal Crouther, Buffalo *Evening News*: One actor on "Chopper One" "plays it with jaw clenched so tight you think someone's putting out a cigarette in his navel."

Gary Deeb, Chicago *Tribune*: The "Cowboys" had "all the sophistication of 'Championship Bowling'—but the dialogue wasn't nearly as interesting."

Bob MacKenzie, Oakland *Tribune*: "Television is educational. How else would you find out that Ann Blythe makes sure her children grow up strong and healthy by feeding them lots of Twinkies and Ho-Hos?"

Dan Lewis, Bergen (N.J.) *Record*: "'Firehouse' . . . can best be described as 'Adam-12' in heat."

But there is also some clichéd reporting and writing. Consider the following:

Joan E. Vadeboncoeur, Syracuse *Herald-Journal*: "Elizabeth Montgomery, erstwhile nose-twitching star of 'Bewitched,' is as bright and breezy in person as she is the battered and bruised victim on NBC's World Premiere movie, 'A Case of Rape.'"

Nancy Anderson, Copley News Service: "In preparation for this evening, Cagney—gentleman farmer, lover, tap-dancer and superstar—hove himself into Hollywood the other day. . . ."

Jack Allen, Buffalo *Courier-Express*: "Many will learn 'Apple's Way' and love it." (This was printed at a time when even the actors did not know all the details of the show, which premiered weeks later.)

Other critics merely rewrite the press releases and biographies handed to them on the junkets. Many write a slightly snappy lead and then string endless quotes from the TV stars, who are naturally enthusiastic about their new TV shows.

N.M.



**TV writers in Munch:** a cavalcade of horse-drawn carriages was provided to transport the writers to a restaurant.

currently living with the subject of the interview are often at odds with critics who want to know the implications of gasoline usage during TV chase scenes in the midst of an energy crisis. I once attempted to learn why producer Quinn Martin ("Streets of San Francisco," "The FBI") continued to offer violent TV shows after the Surgeon General stated that tele-violence harms our country. My questions were interrupted by Mary Wood of the Cincinnati *Post* and *Times-Star* who asked, "How can we get more violence on television?" She was applauded by the other critics.

Most veteran TV junketeers, however, believe that the trips are hard work, fun, exciting, dull, godawful and somehow necessary to understand a crazy business in an insane era. Not a single critic admits feeling influenced to write favorably about a network because of the fabulous trips he or she receives. Not a single network claims that such is their purpose, although positive columns about upcoming shows are naturally more welcome than their opposite.

Bill Hickey of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* says, "There's no way I could meet all these TV stars on Euclid Avenue in Cleveland. Let's face it, my beat is on the West Coast."

Hickey continues, "I've never met anyone at any network who ever told me what to write in any shape or form."

"My boss once asked me about these trips, and I told him to just read the copy I turn in. If they even suggested I was a kept man, I'd punch their heads. What the networks do isn't enough to corrupt anybody, especially when I have to work my ass off in a lousy, lonely hotel room."

However, some network chieftains are beginning to question the propriety of paying for news-

paper junkets. M. S. "Bud" Rukeyser, Jr., vice president of NBC corporate information, says, "If you can afford to send your guy to cover a fire or a water main break, you ought to have enough money to pay for a TV critic to cover his beat."

"What is the purpose of a television column? Are they merely used as a promotional tool for the broadcasters? Then, sure, take everybody's largesse. But if you've hired a serious reporter, then, by God, you ought to have a budget which includes a basic number of trips," Rukeyser adds.

"The TV writers have grown more professional over the past 10 or 15 years," Rukeyser says. "The trend ought to be for editors to ask whether or not this press trip is legitimate news for the paper. If so, the newspaper ought to pay for them."

In fact, more editors should be asking whether the TV junkets do provide solid stories. There's no question that junkets do pay off for the networks. A network press relations expert once confided, "How much does it cost per line of advertising in your newspaper? Add up all the lines written about this network as a result of a single junket and you'll see that we could spend twice what we do on the junkets and still come out ahead."

ABC, for example, has a two-inch-thick, bound book filled with over 200 newspaper stories about ABC printed in January, 1974, after a four-day junket. One network press agent estimated that, as a result of a good junket, a network could expect more than 600 stories about its fall season (that's about 60 editors writing 10 stories each, which is a conservative figure).

It's doubtful, however, that what's good for the networks is equally good for the participating newspapers. Television criticism is coming of age.

Incisive columns are being created in San Francisco, Kansas City, Chicago, Denver, New York, Oakland and other cities. There are easily a dozen television critics whose writing can rank among the best examples of American journalism today and who might one day make it possible for TV criticism to be as respected as film or serious music criticism. Before that can happen, the kind of lightweight journalism which is practiced during the junkets should be seriously examined.

In mid-January, 1974, the following newspapers assured their readers that Dandy Don Meredith

would remain with ABC's "Monday Night Football" team this fall:

The Rocky Mountain *News*, the Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, the Cincinnati *Post*, the Boston *Herald American* (Headline: "Don Meredith Will Be Back Next Year"), the Cincinnati *Enquirer* ("Dandy Don Stays On"), the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*, the New Orleans *States-Item*, the Houston *Chronicle* and Youngstown *Vindicator* ("Meredith to Return in Fall").

Dandy Don became an employee of a rival network, NBC, in March. The herd tramples on.

## And now a word from the sponsor: a network executive responds

TOM MACKIN

After some 20 years of hurling friendly brickbats at TV in an earlier career, I find it somewhat strange to come to the defense of the medium that now employs me—especially over a peripheral matter such as network junkets, which hardly need defending.

But Norman Mark's piece on the subject, which the editors of *CJR* permitted me to see in advance, not only misses—well, the mark—it is amusingly sad, if I may indulge in oxymoron. His comments on the work of several of his colleagues—holding up to scorn phrases wrenched out of context from columns hurriedly composed—is a maneuver that reflects the current style of Chicago video journalism, whose young guru is Gary Deeb of the *Tribune*. Deeb has publicly savaged most of the nation's touring TV press as "The Hack Pack," a slur that provoked an appallingly bitter exchange of essays in the trade press. (May I digress to point out that the networks occasionally take good-natured advantage of such internecine warfare? For this year's trip, CBS organized a basketball game between the Harlem Globetrotters and

the editors, who were dubbed "The Hack Pack" and given jerseys bearing that name.)

Mark's major complaint appears to be that junkets foster "herd journalism." This apparently prevents newsmen such as Mark from pursuing a serious line of questioning because some chowderhead from Poughkeepsie is interested only in the star's vasectomy. I don't suppose Mark would characterize the now rare presidential news conferences as "herd journalism," although they are similar in staging to the networks' mass interviews. This is not to suggest that a presidential huddle is to be compared to an interview with a nervous young actress tugging at her nylons and touting her new sitcom in a Century Plaza Hotel room full of auditors whose thoughts may be on the third race at Hollywood Park. But the resourceful journalist can deal with both situations on his own terms.

Another of Mark's Chicago confederates, Ron Powers of the *Sun-Times*, says the TV confrontations are "a set-up situation." Of course they are. Does he expect the networks to let 75 columnists galumph at will through the studios of Universal, Paramount and Columbia, where shows are being filmed at \$25,000 an hour? In-

Tom Mackin is director of program information for ABC. He is the former TV critic of the now defunct Newark *Evening News*.

stead, production is often stopped at the studios at considerable cost so the stars can attend the press functions. It is true that the editors are "herded" about, but how else can a large group be handled without chaos? *TV Guide*, in an unexpected editorial on junkets, put it this way: "TV reporters and columnists must meet the people they write about, and a writer arriving in Hollywood alone would need weeks to see the people that the networks arrange for him to see in a few hectic but well-organized days."

As for the "climate of good fellowship" to which Powers refers, it would be difficult to measure on any barometer. Unless he refers to the camaraderie that exists among the editors themselves, who after day-long sessions of fencing with stars and network chieftains retire to what is invariably called "the hostility suite," where they trade quips and anecdotes and lampoon the host network in slashing sketches fashioned more often than not by the clever Powers himself and performed by the inimitable Anthony La Camera of the *Boston Herald American*, the Jimmy Savo of the press tribe. These fraternal rip-offs have become an accepted—even anticipated—part of the semi-annual bashes.

Also anticipated are visits to the stars' stately homes, John Wayne's yacht, or Marlo Thomas's rose garden, a custom which Mark seems to frown on, although one's attendance at these affairs is by invitation, not subpoena. I'll admit these posh adventures pose a problem for a writer who worries that his boss will summon him home from such fun and games and name him real estate editor. I wrestled with the problem myself one year and tentatively began a column, "I had a lousy time at Bob Hope's house last night. . . ."

I'm not sure what all this has to do with journalism, although I do know that Norman Mark's indictments are sometimes frivolous. He condemns some newspapers for reporting in mid-January that Don Meredith would remain as a sports commentator for ABC. Then in

March, Mark chortles, Meredith moved to NBC. Well, on Oct. 1, 1973, the *Chicago Daily News* reported Spiro Agnew's statement that he would not resign. Eleven days later we learned that vice presidents of the United States, like sportscasters, can change their minds.

What is the attitude of the networks? They are not fools. They do not spend precious time and money (the cost can be as high as \$60,000) to enable sponging newsmen to carve up new programs in which they have invested heavily. On balance, the columnists choose to write far more flattering pieces than despicable ones. The broadcasters settle for that. It is axiomatic that bad notices never killed a TV show, nor have good notices alone rescued a show about to be cancelled. TV differs from Broadway in that a pan will not drive away a potential viewer. No series was more roundly booed than "Beverly Hillbillies," which then ran for years. Apparently, there are perverse citizens out there in the vast wasteland who embrace programs that have been censured by the local TV assassin. Perhaps the columnists are marching to a different drummer.

In any case, the main thing is that a show gets publicity, even notoriety. Networks, studios and independent producers live in fear that their new programs might "sneak" on the air without benefit of the benediction or even malediction of a writer with a big circulation. Few viewers are likely to tune in a new series they have heard nothing about, good or ill. *TV Guide* with its 18 million circulation is very important, but it is not enough. The networks undertake junkets because newspaper exposure is considered a vital element in the overall publicity mix, which includes advertising and on-air promotion.

If the networks are "buying" anything with these happy hegiras, it is perhaps the columnists' attention. Even if the attention is divided, it is worth the money. On the other hand, without the junkets, what would a daily columnist write about during the long hot summer?





Wide World photo

## U.S. population: booms and busts

a CJR source guide

A very important event occurred in December, 1972, while no one was watching: the United States lost 36 million people.

There is no mystery about how this took place. The Census Bureau decided that one of its conventional projections of future U.S. population was unrealistically high. That projection, which assumed that families would have an average of 3.1 children each, meant that the population would rise from 205 million in 1970 to about 336 million by the year 2000. But families weren't having an average of 3.1 children, and it

seemed unlikely that they would in the future. So, out of deference to the real world, the Census Bureau dropped the projection.

Largely invisible, the "baby bust" has arrived—an event of immense significance, which needs to be understood by the press for what it is and isn't.

A quick look at the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area—purely as an illustrative case—shows that the "bust" already has had a major impact on schools and a lesser impact on hospitals and welfare rolls. Most of the school jurisdictions are now ex-

periencing declining enrollments. (The bust, however, isn't the only factor; others are zoning curbs on suburban growth, and shifts in age patterns in different counties.) As a result, planners in a number of counties have proposed school closings. The enrollment decline already promises some relief for local taxpayers. In Montgomery County, for instance, at least eight previously planned schools—with an estimated cost of \$30 million—have been dropped or indefinitely delayed.

Both maternity and pediatric wards in the area are underuti-

lized. Local health planners say the main problem is not the slowdown in population growth, but the rapid shift of population to the suburbs, which has created demand to build new hospitals in the suburban counties, close to new neighborhoods. The result is an overall surplus of beds, and hospitals in both the district and outlying suburbs are suffering. Yet in some poor neighborhoods, hospitals remain overcrowded and understaffed.

The welfare situation is similarly ambiguous. After huge increases in the 1960's the welfare

rolls have now stopped growing—at least temporarily. Welfare officials attribute the change to a number of non-population causes—a general exhaustion of eligible recipients, a toughening of eligibility rules, and stepped-up “rehabilitation.” And yet the decline in the birth rate clearly has had an impact. In the District of Columbia, the average number of children per welfare family has dropped dramatically, from 3.9 children for each family in 1965 to 2.5 in 1973. Nationally, there has been a similar drop.

The international population

explosion possesses a fascination of its own—the morbid drama of impoverished masses, hobbled by dizzying rates of population growth that erode prospects for economic advancement and raise the constant spectre of starvation. But the closer the story moves to the U.S., the more remote and difficult to observe it seems to become.

It is helpful to note the two fundamental population changes affecting the U.S. today: the baby boom of the late 40's and 50's, and the more recent baby bust. Each, in its own way, is profoundly

Printed here is a brief source guide on U.S. population growth. Although hardly exhaustive, it provides at least minimum information to begin developing a consciousness of population dynamics. That consciousness is necessary to spot—or explain—trends of local or national significance.

For a wide-ranging discussion of the implications of population growth, *Population and the American Future*, the Report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future presents a succinct (169 pages) summary of many current issues. The list of the commission's consultants and researchers in the back of the report is a good source of instant experts.

In addition to the report itself, the commission has published six other volumes—all, like the report, large-size paperbacks—of research papers and statements in public hearings. These supporting volumes contain an enormous amount of in-

formation, though much of the reading looks heavy and some of the research is predictably arcane. All but the index (Vol. 8) are available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. The report costs \$3.10, and the other volumes are as follows: Vol. 1, *Demographic and Social Aspects of Population Growth*, \$5.15; Vol. 2, *Economic Aspects of Population Change*, \$3.70; Vol. 3, *Population, Resources and the Environment*, \$4.25; Vol. 4, *Governance and Population: The Governmental Implications of Population Change*; Vol. 5, *Population Distribution and Policy*; Vol. 6, *Aspects of Population Policy*, \$5.30; Vol. 7, *Statements at Public Hearings*, \$2.30.

The best description of recent birth trends I have run across is a pamphlet called *The Baby Bust* by George Grier of the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies. It's short (71 pages), lucid, and well-writ-

ten. Although it was issued in 1971, the basic trends are still the same, and the data can easily be updated. The pamphlet is available from the center, 1717 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D.C. 20036, for \$2.50.

Up-to-date information on trends can be found in monthly reports on birth and death (rates and numbers) collected by the National Center for Health Statistics (301-443-1200) in Rockville, Md.

The Census Bureau provides a much greater breadth of information about current and prospective population. For example, it regularly conducts a survey of young women's birth expectations; this could provide a forewarning of any major shift in fertility rates, though, in the past, the survey has misled experts because women said they expected to have more children than they actually had.

Census spews forth an enormous amount of information not only on the basic population, but also on social condi-

shaping the news. The baby boom children, for example, are now exerting enormous pressures on the job market (this probably helps explain some of the apparent stubbornness of the unemployment rate) and on the housing supply.

To escape the confusion of population jargon—birth rate, fertility rate, “booms” and “busts”—the best thing to do is to examine the raw numbers of change.

The most important recent development is simply the decline in the absolute number of births. Last year's 3.1 million was 1.2 mil-

lion below the record high in 1957 of 4.3 million. But the decline actually began back in the late 1950's and has been accelerating for most of the last decade. Here are the numbers of births for the past decade:

1964: 4.1 million	1969: 3.6
1965: 3.8	1970: 3.7
1966: 3.6	1971: 3.5
1967: 3.6	1972: 3.3
1968: 3.5	1973: 3.1

These figures represent the actual number of bodies that will be running through the schools, creating demand for baby food (and,

later, all sorts of other consumer products), competing for places in college and in the job market, and, ultimately, having families of their own.

These numbers differ from the general fertility rate—which is defined as the number of children for a given number of women in the child-bearing ages (15 to 44). That, too, has been falling, but it's obvious that the total number of births could drop even if the rate was rising: if there was a sharp drop in the number of women in child-bearing age brackets, then total births might fall

tions, the economy, and education. There are two mailing lists for press releases—one for data from the 1970 Census, and the other for all other surveys. On request, Census will supply the underlying report or survey. The office of information is 301-763-7273, or the Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. 20233.

Perhaps the most useful thing you can get from the Census Bureau is individual census tract information for each of the nation's 241 major metropolitan areas. The tracts average about 4,000 people, and, for each tract, the Census provides an enormous amount of data on income levels, housing conditions, education levels, employment, school enrollment, transportation (who owns cars and how people get to work), family size, marriage trends and fertility rates.

In addition, there are two non-technical, semi-popular books which try to make sense out of the mountains of numbers contained in the census. They are: **Rich Man, Poor Man**, first is-

sued in 1964 (and updated in 1971) and written by Herman P. Miller, the former chief of the Census Bureau's population division (\$8.95; Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, or \$3.95 in Apollo paperbacks); and **The American People: the Findings of the 1970 Census** by E. J. Kahn, a writer for *The New Yorker*, where large portions of the book first appeared (\$8.95; Weybright & Talley).

Other sources of basic statistical background include the **Statistical Abstract of the United States**, available from the GPO and a book called **Social Indicators 1973**—a less comprehensive compilation of trends in housing, income, employment, education, public safety, health, population, and leisure and recreation—which is available free to the press from the Office of Management and Budget (202-395-3000) or from the GPO (\$7.80). Demand for workers by profession and job type is detailed extensively in the annual **Manpower Report of the Presi-**

**dent**, which is supplied free by the Labor Department's Manpower Administration (202-376-6730) until copies run out and then can be obtained from the GPO (\$3.85). The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations puts out a huge volume called **Federal-State Finances** which provides a wealth of information on tax sources and spending patterns for all levels of government; it's available from the commission (202-382-4953, or ACIR, Washington, D.C. 20575) or the GPO (\$3.05).

Of immediate interest, the Educational Facilities Laboratories (212-751-6214, or 477 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y.) was in the midst of completing an informal nationwide survey of underutilized schools as this article went to press. In addition, a number of major universities—including Princeton, Harvard, the University of Texas, the University of Hawaii, the University of Michigan, and the University of Chicago—all have population research centers.

even if the average woman was having more children.

The decline in total births may be close to its nadir. The number of women of child-bearing age is now beginning to grow rapidly; even if the fertility rate continues to decline slightly, the number of new births may level off or rise. The increase would be an aftereffect of the baby boom. Those children—in large numbers—are now forming their own families and considering having children. Here are the number of births in the peak baby-boom years:

1950: 3.6 million	1955: 4.1
1951: 3.8	1956: 4.2
1952: 3.9	1957: 4.3
1953: 4	1958: 4.3
1954: 4.1	1959: 4.3

The significance of the slide in fertility is that it may signal a leveling-off in the country's population. The rate has fallen considerably in the last decade. In 1960, the total fertility rate—which is the imputed number of children that each family will have—was 3.6. Last year's 1.9 was well below the "replacement level," which is generally put at 2.1. The replacement level means precisely what the name implies: if every family has only two children, the population—all other things being equal—will ultimately stop growing. (The 2.1 figure is used to account for the deaths of women before they reach child-bearing age.) The population, of course, is still growing rapidly, because the number of deaths (about 1.9 million annually) is still well below the number of births.

Just when would the U.S. population level off if the fertility rate were to stay at 2.1 children? Under present circumstances, the an-

swer is simple: never. There's another contributor to population change frequently forgotten in recent years—immigration. It is now running at a rate of 400,000 annually, and most of the Census Bureau's projections include this annual influx as a permanent factor. It could, of course, be stopped by political action. Without immigration, the Census Bureau estimates that a 2.1 children per family fertility rate—maintained constantly—would produce a stable population of about 276 million in the year 2038. About two-thirds of the growth, however, would occur before the turn of the century.

But even with the present rate of immigration, the drop in the birth rate has already had a profound impact on the nation's expected population in 2000. One more table illustrates the huge differences resulting from apparently slight shifts in fertility rates. Each series below lists, first, the assumed fertility rate and then the expected population in 2000:

Series A*	Series D
(3.3)	(2.5)
361.3 million	286 million
Series B*	Series E
(3.1)	(2.1)
336 million	264.4 million
Series C	Series F
(2.8)	(1.8)
300.4 million	250.7 million

\* Estimate prepared in 1966

Popular perceptions of population growth have shifted radically in the last few years. Until recently, as the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future noted in 1972, "progress," economic advance, and population growth were all inextricably linked. Simply put, "more was better." Now, this seems to have

been replaced—or, at least, challenged—by a new ethos: "less is best."

But is it? As a forum for ideas, the press shouldn't become mesmerized by either the old or new cliché. "Less is best" appeals strongly to common sense. Essential resources—limited by both their natural and political availability—appear pressed by the escalating demands of population. Irrascibility with urban living—traffic congestion, "crowding," and pollution—is on the rise.

Yet the new conventional wisdom doesn't command a consensus of experts. Far from it. The Population Commission, though urging that the U.S. aim to stabilize its population, found little immediate link between population and the solution of many current problems. Population growth would press most heavily on water resources (especially in the West) and recreational facilities, the commission found. But elsewhere, the effects were less clear-cut. Pollution reduction, for example, depends far more on the seriousness of abatement efforts than population growth. Likewise, high densities are often cited as a source of urban malaise, but the commission's research failed to find much evidence to support this. In fact, urban densities actually declined slightly between 1960 and 1970, and the U.S.'s overall density—58 people per square mile—is much smaller than that of many other industrialized nations. In Britain, it's 590 per square mile.

**ROBERT J. SAMUELSON**

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## An American in Paris: The International Herald Tribune

Will success spoil the international *ménage à trois* of some ardent U.S. rivals?

JAMES O. GOLDSBOROUGH

■ In Helsinki, a French official recently introduced a New York *Times* reporter as representing the Washington *Post*. He was duly corrected, but the Frenchman waved his hand and responded: "*Post, Times*, what does it matter? For us there is only the *Herald Tribune*."

For large numbers of Americans abroad and a growing number of non-Americans, there is "only the *Herald Tribune*." Various descriptions for its size (an average 14-16 pages) as the "most readable and informative daily published anywhere" (*Time*), "the only truly European paper despite being American" (a Common Market official), in many ways a "superior production to our own national dailies" (Britain's *New Statesman*), and "superbly edited" (columnist William F. Buckley, Jr.), the *International Herald Tribune* is the progeny of an overseas alliance of bitter domestic rivals—the Washington *Post*, the New York *Times* and Whitney Communications, parent company of the old New York *Herald Tribune*.

Born of the Paris edition of the *Herald Tribune* eight years ago, *IHT* has become the only truly

international daily newspaper in the world, and is now on sale in over 70 countries. It has been successful enough to inspire imitators, although presently they are weeklies and monthlies. Yet there are indications that the European press will not let an American newspaper dominate this growing market indefinitely. Already there are those who feel that the increasingly international efforts of formerly national papers such as the London *Financial Times* are bearing fruit, and that the *Herald Tribune* will have to show marked improvement to maintain its lead.

As a partial response, the *IHT* in March invaded the British home market with a London-based facsimile printing operation. Ultimate plans include a Frankfurt plant in the near future, and perhaps an Asian edition printed in Tokyo within a few years (a plan presently backed by executives in Paris and the Washington *Post*, but opposed so far by the *Times* and Whitney, and viewed with some skepticism by the Japanese).

None of us had realized how near the end was when, on April 24, 1966, the New York *Herald Tribune* ceased publication. There was fear that its poor Paris cousin, which had been losing about \$600,000 a year, would close too, bringing to an end an 85-year skein of legends: the founder of the

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Paris *Herald*, James Gordon Bennett, Jr., riding nude down the Champs Elysees in the 1890s (by virtue of its descent from the *Herald*, the *Herald Tribune* is, curiously, the third oldest Paris newspaper); young Bill Shirer sprinting up the same avenue to file a story on fascist-leftist clashes in 1936; a young expatriate, Art Buchwald, talking *Trib* editor Eric Hawkins into letting him try his hand at a Paris column; pretty American girls in yellow T-shirts hawking the paper to pay their Sorbonne tuition; American travelers taking *Tribs* and Cinzanos on sunny terraces.

If the *Trib* had folded, it would have left victory in Europe, as in New York, to the *Times*, whose European edition had appeared in 1960. Its circulation was less than 40,000, more than 20,000 behind the *Trib*, but it was willing to go on losing more than \$2 million a year until it took the lead. The *Times* European edition had one enormous advantage: it published complete (and expensive) New York stock tables. But stock tables apart, the *Times* was to the *Herald Tribune* in Paris about what it was in New York, only in Paris the *Trib* formula was the more successful.

The Paris *Trib* didn't close. The owner, John Hay Whitney, had secretly started negotiations with the *Wall Street Journal* as early as 1964. But the *Journal* did not buy. "We were enthusiastic about the project," says William F. Kerby, chairman of Dow Jones, "but our production people didn't think there was room in Europe for two American newspapers. We also thought Paris was a bad place to print, and recommended moving to Frankfurt. But Jock Whitney was attached to Paris." People at the *Journal* still must be kicking themselves over the decision, but it should be said that their studies were right. The *Herald Tribune* was being produced in impossible circumstances, in an antiquated plant in an inaccessible part of Paris. Yet the *Journal* missed a good buy. The *Herald Tribune*, worth about \$4 million in 1966, today carries a \$20 million price tag.

Such problems were not to discourage the Washington *Post*. The *Post* in 1966 still was little known internationally. It had never tried an international edition and did not even have a particularly noteworthy or ample foreign news staff. "We wanted to be part of that newspaper," ex-

plains *Post* editor Ben Bradlee. "It was the time we were just beginning to expand, and to have a commitment to journalism outside the *Post*." The *Post* had heard of Whitney's conversations with the *Wall Street Journal* and, when they collapsed, made its offer. The *Post* wanted 50 per cent, but the final agreement was for the *Post* to acquire 45 per cent, with an option to add 5 per cent more on Whitney's death. Thus Whitney not only kept control but provided his paper with a new stateside link, essential for communication as well as a source of national coverage. Moreover, the deal meant new funds, and *Post* publisher Katharine Graham made it clear that the *Post* intended to be generous. Whitpost, as the enterprise was called, hired Robert T. MacDonald, former *NYHT* general manager, as publisher, and Murray M. Weiss, former *NYHT* city editor, as editor, thus keeping the newspaper in the hands of Whitney people. MacDonald and Weiss arrived in Paris in October, 1966, and the *International Herald Tribune* was launched by Mrs. Graham and Bradlee at a cocktail party at the chic Lancaster Hotel down the rue de Berri from the newspaper. Things were changing. I still remember Kay Graham at the party shattering one of the yellow T-shirt set who fancied herself a Paris correspondent by blurting, "Gawd, how young you all are around here." The new team settled in. Salaries went up, plant remodeling started, full New

### Then . . .

Eric Hawkins, an Englishman, a former editor of the *Herald Tribune*.



York stock tables were put in, and the *Trib* settled down to fight it out with the *Times*.

The struggle did not last long. The following April Sydney Gruson, who had been sent by *Times* publisher Arthur Ochs (Punch) Sulzberger to edit the Paris *Times* in 1966, called MacDonald for lunch. The *Times* was wondering what the terms would be for buying into the new operation and closing down its own edition. Gruson says: "It was clear that Europe was only a one-newspaper market. I recommended to Punch that we merge. To beat the *Trib* would cost too much." But the terms were dear. "I told Sydney that the *Times* could have only a minority interest," says MacDonald. The new *International Herald Tribune* gained a partner and lost a competitor. MacDonald, who had a substantial amount of his own money in the *IHT*, says: "I was for the sale. I thought it would make the *Trib* a better newspaper." The *Times* got four of twelve seats on the board of directors, and Whitney and the *Post* agreed always to vote together, assuring continued control. There was a stipulation, however, that unanimous approval was needed in the choice of editor and in new investments.

The *International Herald Tribune's* evolution into "Europe's only international daily," as it calls itself today, has not all been due to good management. The *Herald Tribune* was also lucky. It came into existence in time to take advantage of the

American interest equalization tax, which contributed greatly to the expansion of American business abroad. It also appeared as Gaullist hostility to British entry into the European Economic Community was fading; Britain's entry into the EEC made English the *lingua franca* of the Continent. Any time a group of Dutch, German, Italian, or French intermingled, English became the most likely common tongue. Although few knew it in 1966, Europe was ripe for a newspaper that could reach the new internationalist, who was often schooled in America, or at least trained in American business methods, able to read English and interested in American news and views of the world. He was a new kind of reader—a member of an elite which was relatively less interested in news of one nation than in international news, political and economic. In early 1966, there still were no newspapers, including the Paris *Trib*, that really covered that beat. Among quality European newspapers, the few that took an interest in international coverage, such as *Le Monde* and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, did not even try to sell across borders.

The new *IHT* moved into the vacuum, and in so doing lost its old character. The *Herald Tribune* reduced its Paris localism, got rid of its travel stories, front page features on Paris taxi drivers, and its girls in yellow T-shirts. It raised its newsstand price to 15 cents (now 40-60 cents), upped its

Familiar scene when the paper was the European edition of the New York *Herald Tribune*.



The plant, 21 rue de Berri, was site of the first American church in Paris a century ago.



The yellow-sweatered vendors of old. The new *IHT* decided its new image called for more traditional sales techniques.



subscription and advertising rates and still saw circulation climb. United States news was reduced; the new beat of the *Trib* was the world, especially the Common Market, summit meetings, international conferences, trade, economics, monetary affairs, and business. The *Trib* went serious; from the first day of publication in 1967 the new formula worked and made money.

In retrospect, it is amazing that no European newspaper took action during the critical years 1967-1970, when the new market was opening up and the *Herald Tribune's* circulation and size were increasing. The magazines saw the market, and *The Economist*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Vision* and *Europa* either increased their international efforts or started new ones. True, the *Herald Tribune* had the immeasurable advantage of already being there, publishing in English, with existing distribution networks. But the *Herald Tribune* wasn't even European, which could have been a disadvantage. Actually it was precisely the *Herald Tribune's* lack of nationality, or rather its detached American outlook—its “mid-Atlantic viewpoint,” as editor Weiss likes to call it—that eased its acceptance.

There are signs that European newspapers are belatedly stirring. The *Financial Times*, the first British newspaper to realize the new potential, has greatly improved its international coverage. Recently four European newspapers, *La Stampa* of Italy, *Le Monde* of France, *The Times* of London, and *Die Welt* of West Germany, began publishing identical monthly supplements in their four languages, with an eye to eventually making them weekly or even daily. These supplements, called “Europa,” are being advertised with an obvious anti-*Herald Tribune* bias as “the first truly European newspaper, written by Europeans, for Europeans.” *Vision*, the European business monthly, has had success with the national language formula, which it maintains reaches a wider European audience than an edition published only in English. These are some of the indications that for the first time, the *Herald Tribune* faces well-financed and innovative competition.

The impact of this American newspaper on its foreign environment is not difficult to discern. The circulation sheets show that since 1966, sales have

expanded into more than 70 countries in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Daily circulation, which averaged near 125,000 last year, is divided as follows: 57 per cent to the nine EEC countries, 20 per cent to other West European countries, 5 per cent to North Africa and the Middle East, 3 per cent to Eastern Europe, 6 per cent to Asia, and 9 per cent to the international air lines. Sales in the United States have been on the rise, with an average of 200 a day on the East Coast, despite the 60-cent price; most of these sales are to Americans who developed the *Trib* habit while living in Europe. In Communist countries, the *Trib* is on open newsstand sale only in Yugoslavia. Forty copies a day are flown to Peking, and 400 go to Moscow. Understandably, the *Herald Tribune's* distribution problems are enormous; distribution accounts for an unusually high proportion of production costs—25 per cent.

One incident illustrative of the *Herald Tribune's* influence occurred two years ago. The French had been particularly cooperative during a ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and Don Cook, Paris correspondent of the *Los Angeles Times*, wrote a story (available over the *Post-L.A. Times* news service) suggesting that France was inching its way back into the Atlantic fold. The *Trib* ran the piece as an editorial under the snappy headline: EATING CROW, FRENCH STYLE. The French Foreign Ministry complained that the headline was rude, if not libelous. The Defense Ministry called it a lie. The U.S. Embassy informed us that we had blown the whole thing—that Defense Minister Michel Debré, in a rage, had changed his mind. The French, sidling closer to NATO, had decided to participate in two complicated communications projects, but backed out when the story was printed. Actually, the story hadn't been that tough, but French officialdom couldn't see past the headline. What came to be known as the “crow” story dried up leaks out of NATO for a while, but it also showed the *Herald Tribune's* influence. The same story running in Los Angeles (under a different headline, to be sure) never raised an eyebrow. What angered the French was that all their colleagues in fourteen NATO countries would see the story in the one paper they all read.



Another incident occurred soon after. French police at Orly airport intercepted a group of Chinese dragging a compatriot onto a plane. Despite a nasty scene, the man, who was drugged, was removed from his escorts and taken to a Paris hospital. The Chinese were furious. The police told the press that the man had tried to defect to the French embassy in Algiers, had been caught by his countrymen and was being escorted back to China. For three days we awaited word that he had been given asylum, only to learn on the fourth day that he had chosen to return to China, and actually had left for Peking the previous day. Despite the obvious fishiness of the explanation, the French press swallowed it. Not the *Herald Tribune*. It had learned from a scandalized French official that the Chinese embassy had pressured the government into handing the man over. The official, objecting to the violation of the traditional French right of asylum, spilled the story to the *Herald Tribune*, which ran a front page exclusive excruciatingly embarrassing to the government. Two days later, Weiss was summoned to the Quai d'Orsay for the first time since his arrival as editor. The government wanted a retraction. Weiss said he was not in the habit of retracting the truth. The Quai did not press the point.

The defector story throws some light on the *Herald Tribune's* relations with its European brethren. The good European newspapers will not

ignore a story the *IHT* is publishing even though it can mean acknowledging that they have been scooped in their own territory. *Le Monde* ran the real defector story the next day, though it was ignored by the pro-government *France-Soir* and the conservative *Le Figaro*. *Le Canard Enchaîné*, the satirical weekly, also picked it up, as did much of the foreign press.

The reluctance of the European press to publish leaks and to pursue investigative reporting has helped the *Herald Tribune* on numerous occasions. The initial revelation of the disappearance in December, 1970, of five Israeli gunboats held under French embargo in Cherbourg harbor was an Associated Press story published in the *Herald Tribune* because the AP had been tipped off in Cherbourg by a reporter who could not get the story into his own newspaper. The sale of 108 French Mirage jet fighters to Libya a few days after the Cherbourg caper—a French means of settling scores with the Israelis—was another story on which the *Herald Tribune* stayed a day ahead of its competitors, thanks to both French and Israeli sources. Last year, Italy learned in the *Herald Tribune* that former Premier Amintore Fanfani had asked the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency for funds to subsidize his Christian Democratic Party. The Italian press never touched the story. An Italian official told me: "The attitude in Italy was that this sort of thing should not be

Now . . .

Robert T. MacDonald, publisher



(from left) George Bates, managing editor, Betsy Bates, features editor and Bill Holden, news editor.



Murray M. (Buddy) Weiss, editor.



pursued too far for there was no telling where it might lead."

There is no doubt that this American-style coverage has made the *Herald Tribune* unpopular in some quarters. A few years ago, the Italian government saw to it that the *Herald Tribune's* charter flights to Rome and Milan were canceled, thus keeping the paper out of early morning competition with the *Rome Daily American*, which both the U.S. and Italian governments were trying to keep alive. (That is another story. The *Daily American*, with a circulation of 7,000, is still publishing, but just barely. It approached the *IHT* last year with an offer to sell out and was turned down.) The West German government's lack of cooperation last year during negotiations on an *IHT* facsimile operation in Frankfurt led to the choice of London for the first site; the impression remained that the German press was not all that keen on having the *IHT* on all the early morning newsstands. And there have been problems with some countries' censors, particularly Spain, Portugal and some Arab countries, but not, strangely enough, with the Greek colonels, despite a lot of unfavorable reporting.

Fundamental differences between European and American press practices have created problems during the Watergate scandals. The *Herald Tribune*, largely because of what managing editor George Bates called a "gut reaction," gave the Watergate horrors the same space they would have received in a newspaper at home, much to Europeans' bewilderment. More than a year after the story became literally a front-page daily series in the *Herald Tribune*, I had not met one European who understood the importance we were giving Watergate. To them we were indulging a provincial American infatuation with political trivia, hardly a subject of passion to anyone outside Washington. I cannot recall the number of times I heard cynical comments about the innocence and naïveté of Americans, and charges that the press either was an accomplice in an act of political assassination or engaged in a kind of journalistic *auto-da-fé* incomprehensible in the Old World. The tone changed with the departure of Vice President Agnew, but then that had nothing to do with Watergate. On balance,

Watergate had little impact abroad and has not been a popular story among *Herald Tribune* readers. Still, the *Trib* persisted in treating it as it would have at home.

Despite such communications gaps, the *Herald Tribune*, although looked on as uniquely American and not particularly appropriate to Europe, is tolerated and increasingly respected. Europeans give the paper generous praise. More than one Frenchman has told me that he regards it as the "best Paris morning daily." Ben Bradlee says: "All my European friends tell me it is the first newspaper they read every day."

Such praise is based largely on the quality and quantity of the *Herald Tribune's* news and features. Not only does it offer what its editors consider the best from the *Post* and *Times* services, but it has its own staff of 25 or so (all Americans), a large network of stringers, and a character all its own. Despite its average 14-16 pages (about half the size of the usual European newspaper), the *IHT's* coverage is not thin.

It has an average "live" newshole\* of 32 columns, which, while not ranking with the 53 columns of the *New York Times*, is practically that of the *Chicago Tribune* (33 columns), and the same as the *Boston Globe*. The compactness evidently appeals to Europeans as much as to Americans, for the latest surveys show that non-Americans now account for almost 50 per cent of the readership. "Every decision we have taken over the past five years has been oriented toward the European reader," says MacDonald. Some of these decisions have not been easy. While it is simple enough to increase foreign datelines and international news coverage, it is another matter when it comes to eliminating American-oriented sports, comics, editorials, and features. In sports, the American fan still wants his line scores and locker-room talk, while the European wants skiing, horse-racing, boxing, and such national particularities as cricket, cycling, or rugby. "The sports page is where the two concepts clash," says MacDonald. "We're not quite sure how it will turn out."

\* These figures use Ben H. Bagdikian's definition of a "live" newshole, which excludes all matter except space devoted to the text of news stories. See "Fat Newspapers and Slim Coverage," *CJR*, September/October, 1973.



Some of its other practices cause wonder among Europeans. The comics page (which the *Times*, naturally, would like to see dropped) is most unusual for a newspaper in Europe, but studies show that it is read as avidly by non-Americans as by Americans. The editorial page, reserved for opinion alone, while common enough to British newspapers, is not a feature of most European dailies. Nor is the letters column, which on any given day may include contributions from several continents. The *IHT*'s letters show great diversity, but there is a strong conservative thread running through them, reflecting both the status and the politics of a typical reader (a 1973 survey showed that the average annual income of a *Herald Tribune* subscriber was more than \$28,000). The *Trib* readership was not violently antiwar during the Vietnam years, nor noticeably incensed by Watergate. Though the newspaper has a liberal reputation, the editor recently added William F. Buckley, Jr., to the regular contributors to represent the conservative viewpoint. The main weakness of the editorial page is that it carries no European-written editorials, relying rather on *Post* and *Times* reprints and the output of a former New York *Herald Tribune* editorialist based in the United States. These often do not interest inter-

national readers. Weiss has opposed Paris-written editorials on the ground that they would tend to be European-oriented rather than "mid-Atlantic"; but the current editorials can be criticised because they are too provincially American.

Paradoxically, where the *Herald Tribune* fails most seriously now is in the very field that it views as its principal domain—international reporting and comment. Here the *Times* and the *Post* often cannot help because of their different focus and different deadlines. The wire services generally are too perfunctory for the *Herald Tribune*'s needs, and its own staff is at best insufficient, and in some cases, such as finance, simply not up to the job.

These problems of insufficiency and inadequacy have led to serious mistakes. An example: one of the main stories of 1973 in Europe was the U.S. embargo on soybeans, which overnight cut off about \$600 million in annual soybean imports into Europe. The Continent, which grows no soybeans and has been a steady customer of the United States for years, suddenly found itself not only with skyrocketing meat prices, but without soybeans, an important source of protein for livestock. That story first received exactly three paragraphs on the *Trib* finance page; it was moved to

the front page the next day only after an explosive European reaction.

Another *Trib* shortcoming has been its coverage of the European Economic Community, where it never has employed more than a stringer. Its Brussels coverage has tended to lack the steady, thoughtful tone necessary for properly reporting the complex affairs of the community, and instead has reflected an American-oriented "crisis" approach, with the community one day on the brink of disintegration and the next on the verge of breaking relations with the United States. Both the soybean story and the Brussels coverage are illustrations of the problems an American newspaper can have in understanding the international mood and viewpoint.

It is here that the *Financial Times* and the new multi-lingual editions have been outscoring the *Tribune*. "Most Americans come back to the United States raving about the *Herald Tribune*," says managing editor Bates, another former *NYHT* man. "But those are not Americans who have been reading the European press."

Another handicap for the paper is its exorbitant price which, varying between 40 and 60 cents depending on the country, puts it out of range of any but the most elite readership. This pricing policy may lead to short-run profits, but it means that the only young readers who ever see it will be those whose fathers bring it home and those assigned to read it in school libraries, hardly a path toward assuring a faithful readership when Europe's young have matured.

Ownership of the *Herald Tribune* by representatives of three newspapers (one defunct) has created problems. The essential struggle is between those who would give it a free hand, responsive to the needs of its unique market, and those who believe the *Herald Tribune's* *raison d'être* is to display the wares of the *Post* and the *Times* abroad. While some readers of the *Herald Tribune* would not be reading it if it did not carry *Post* and *Times* copy, I cannot believe many more will start reading it because it does. It must be more discerning with that copy. To illustrate: Ben Bradlee's main criticism of the *Herald Tribune* is that it is "not complete enough," by which he means that it has not run enough *Post* Wash-

ington copy (read "Watergate copy"). Yet the *Herald Tribune* ran much of the *Post* Watergate copy—but certainly not because its readers were clamoring for it.

Bradlee says that he often "has told Weiss that if he can't make a success of that newspaper, he ought to have his head examined." Yet the success of the *Herald Tribune* is distinct from the success of the *Times* or the *Post*; to the extent that those

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*"It may never fully  
deserve the reputation  
it already has . . ."*

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two newspapers see the *Trib* merely as a vehicle for their own news services, they may be antipathetical to it. Whitney Communications president Walter N. Thayer says that he does not think those two concepts exclude each other, but that point of view is not shared by all the people on the *Post* and *Times*. "I am often disappointed when I look at the *Herald Tribune* and see no *Times* stories," says Gruson. When a suggestion is made that in the future he may be finding even fewer *Times* stories, he replies: "Only an insane editor would do that." Even Bradlee, who takes a more detached view, admits that he would oppose an evolution that would increase stories written by the *Herald Tribune* at the expense of stories from the *Washington Post*. "The *Herald Tribune* has its own character and ought to have," he says, but adds that it would "bother" him to see *Herald Tribune* news stories out of such places as Bonn, Rome, and London.

MacDonald believes that such expansion is the only possible evolution. "I've told the *Post* and the *Times* that that is the direction I intend to go," he says. The difference here is more than one of just story credit; it is one of story suitability. "We would not be in competition with the *Post* and *Times*," says MacDonald. "Our needs are different from theirs." Nor is the goal of the *Herald Tribune* today to take readers away from the European press so much as to make the European read about



himself through American eyes. The idea is to offer the reader a second newspaper, one with a fresh approach. "Our view of events in their countries will be a kind of primary news for them," is how MacDonald puts it.

Managing editor Bates is worried about the execution of the tricky editorial problem of deciding to what extent the newspaper is a primary news source, and to what extent it should branch into more background and situation reporting. Bates believes the paper needs staffers, both desk people and reporters, who can provide interpretation as well as news in writing and editing. But he does not see this happening yet. "There simply has been no planning for the future," he says. Still, it is clear that a special staff will have to be created for this work, a network of trained correspondents working exclusively for the needs and deadlines of the *Herald Tribune*.

This is essentially the direction that both *Time* and *Newsweek* have taken with their European editions. Both have been successful in increasing the proportion of non-American to American readers—nearly three to one in the case of *Newsweek International*. The newsmagazines have recognized that their European editions must be different from domestic editions, even in the cover story, the main attraction for newsstand sales.

The *Tribune's* chronic understaffing and excessive reliance on the *Post* and *Times* has often caused problems—and at times courted disaster. When editor Weiss became ill this spring, the entire daily editorial production fell on Bates for several months without relief. More importantly, during the unexpected French presidential campaign, the *Trib* was forced to rely almost entirely on the wire services for its election coverage because of its own understaffing, the guild strike at the *Post* and a shorthanded *Times* Paris bureau. It seems clear that any newspaper with pretensions to quality coverage cannot rely on wire service copy for a major political story occurring in the very city where it is published.

Money is certain to be the key to the *Herald Tribune's* success in the coming years. The facsimile operation in London cost \$300,000 to install; subsequent facsimile operations will run somewhat less. The cost of opening *Herald Tribune* bureaus in foreign capitals to replace present

stringers is estimated at roughly \$50,000 annually for each bureau. Add to this a \$250,000 loss in anticipated revenue last year from dollar devaluations, and the \$1.3 million in accumulated profits repatriated to the United States last year by the owners (which almost forced management to borrow money at 12 per cent to finance the London operation), and the situation appears tight enough to cast a shadow on any expansion plans.

The reluctance of both Whitney and the *Times* to make a ten-year commitment to *Asahi Shimbun* in Tokyo two years ago resulted in shelving the Tokyo edition, which it was estimated would cost well over half a million dollars and take several years to get into the black. Yet that plan is not dead, only in abeyance. "It will take above all," says MacDonald, "the conviction that this newspaper has a future out there. I think there is a big enough market in Asia to be successful."

Yet this sort of expansion is going to take the cooperation of all three owners at a time when unanimous agreement appears to be getting harder. "There are times," says MacDonald with obvious discouragement, "when I think that all the owners are interested in is a few more cents on their earnings." Even at the *Post*, which has been the most consistent backer of *Herald Tribune* projects, there are changes, especially since the *Post* went public a few months back.

Perhaps I am unduly pessimistic. Perhaps the *Herald Tribune* has a true monopoly position abroad and people will go on buying it regardless. But if that is why they go on buying it, it will remain forever what it is: an attractive, well-edited and designed newspaper with an enormous potential, a potential that will be gradually realized by its European competitors. It may never fully deserve the reputation it already has. What it needs now, I believe, is to achieve an existence more independent of both the *Post* and *Times*, one suitable to itself. It has the potential to become one of the world's great newspapers. It is a praiseworthy goal, for if it is attained it will mean that an American newspaper will remain preeminent in the international field. If the goal is not achieved, the future of the *Herald Tribune* is no greater than the number of readers abroad who own U.S. stocks and need to check the daily Dow Jones.

## Human Kindness Day—Delight or Disaster?

It has often been said that American journalists have a proclivity for reporting bad news—that good and happy events are not worthy of the newsprint it takes to print them.

Thus it is something of a rare day when the same event is reported by two national news services—one reporting it as good news, the other as bad. This happened on May 12, 1974.

Readers of the Record, which serves Bergen County, N.J., read of Washington's third annual Human Kindness Day, as reported by Douglas B. Feaver of the Washington Post News Service, under the headline: CUP OF KINDNESS OVERFLOWS. Not a discouraging word was to be found in the story: "Tens of thousands of people, most of them young . . . crowded onto the Washington Monument grounds yesterday for an hours-long rock concert that was the culmination of Human Kindness Day III."

On the same day, readers of the New York Times read a UPI report of the same event under the headline: VANDALISM MARS A 'KINDNESS DAY.' Sub-head: Lootings and Beatings Occur at Washington Monument. Lead: "The annual 'Human Kindness Day' celebration on the grounds of the Washington Monument erupted in a spree of violence tonight."

For some eight column inches the article went on to describe the, well—there really isn't any other word for it—debacle.

It was a day, according to a police spokesman, "in which many persons attending the festival 'smoked marijuana and drank liquor.'" More: "Concession stands were looted and persons were beaten. . . . The Park Service Police formed a line of men and horses and moved across the monument grounds to break up crowds of youths who threw bottles and shouted jeers. . . ."

What have we here? On the face of it, the Washington Post seems to have caught the flavor the celebration as it must have been construed by its sponsors and as it may have been for most of the day. UPI, in the more traditional mold of American journalism, seems to have run with all the bad news.

To find out, I first called Howard Simons, managing editor of the Washington Post. He said that the story which moved over the Washington Post News Service was the early report and that, given the early Sunday newspaper closing, most papers that carry the service did not receive the update.

"I was home that day," he said, "and got a call around midnight that the celebration had ended with some acts of violence. But really, now, it was a small crowd of troublemakers, relatively speaking—only 24 were arrested. You simply cannot discredit the 80,000 people who came out and had a good time by tarring them all with what a small group did."

Did you change the story significantly given the way the celebration ended? I asked.

"No, I didn't—I thought it would be a distortion to characterize the whole day as a disaster. I did not lead with the violence—so many people had worked so hard to make this a success and so many people had a wonderful time. It simply wouldn't be right."

Simons did not see the final edit, but said that the following sentence was added to the piece—some distance from the beginning—that appeared in the last edition, circulated exclusively in Washington: "It [the day] was marred by sporadic acts of violence beginning about dusk, which included beatings, rock- and bottle-throwing and looting."

And what about the United Press International? I talked with Cindy Fanto, the reporter who covered the event. She agreed the story, as run by the New York Times, was the one she had filed. I asked if she felt it was a balanced story, given the fact that the violence occurred at the end of the day.

"I had thought about this and right now I wish I could have put it in a better perspective. I filed it, probably, around 9:30 or so. After that I did write a first lead, which never moved—it was just getting too late for the Sunday papers at that time." She went on: "I agree with you that I might have put more stress on the good points. But I was very close to what went on—I personally was slapped in the face and had a bottle thrown at me."

In retrospect, would you still lead with the violence? I asked.

"Yes," she replied, "if I had to do it over I still would lead with the violence. I might have put it into better context, but we don't have that kind of time. And beyond that, I have to think of someone in California reading this—I had to move with the news peg."

There we have it. Neither the Times nor the Record gave its readers an entirely accurate account of Human Kindness Day because neither of the papers had their own reporter on the scene. In this single story, drawn from two competing news services, they gave a graphic lesson on how accuracy and fairness can be compromised by running with news packaged by someone else.

To what extent should any news story be run by a newspaper which commits its editorial integrity to what appears in its columns, without some check, either by reading accounts of other news services or by telephone calls?

Olympian questions for a piddling problem, perhaps. But the evidence in this instance would suggest that someone give them at least a passing thought.

CHRISTOPHER G. TRUMP

## Notes on the art

### Serving up news— with a twist

■ In Richard Nixon's hour of supercrisis, the White House is using a new split-level model of press relations. There are many vestibules and hidden chambers to mystify the uninitiated. Out in the open for all to see are the daily news briefings conducted usually by the deputy press secretary, Gerald Warren. These are useless *pro forma* exercises in which the gentle and likeable Mr. Warren rigidly deflects the questions that the Chief Executive chooses to ignore until it suits his purpose. On another level, there is the formally-designated press secretary, Ronald Ziegler, who functions behind the scenes and may be inaccessible for days at a time. Ziegler is closer to the President now and usually knows what's going on. If he feels like it, he may return a phone call, dribbling out "background" information to selected reporters, attributable usually to "White House sources." Sometimes he'll saunter out into the press room after most of the reporters have gone to lunch and casually answer or partially answer the same questions that Warren was dodging earlier at the regular briefing.

There is a new wing in the structure, though, one that was specially designed and is occupied by Ken Clawson, the director of communications. This title was created for Herbert Klein during Mr. Nixon's first term, when the news and propaganda functions of the White House media operation were theoretically separated. Since succeeding to Klein's office in the second-term reorganization, Clawson has greatly enlarged the activity and

importance of his shop, which is tucked away in a first floor corner of the big old office building next to the White House. Gradually, his section has taken over more of the day-to-day information responsibilities along with the job of handling the President's public relations defense against impeachment.

Clawson, 37, is a combative, upward-striving son of a Midwestern paper mill worker who covered labor news for the *Toledo Blade* before joining the national staff of the *Washington Post*. He was hired as Klein's assistant early in 1972.

At the beginning of this year he introduced a new forum for presenting government officials and other administration newsmakers to journalists for questioning at a chosen time and in a congenial atmosphere. A dozen or so reporters are phoned individually by Clawson's staff and invited to one of the sessions, usually in late afternoon. For 30 minutes to an hour, the official responds to questions on the record. The drinks and the pretty blue napkins that bear the message, "Cocktails with Clawson" (Clawson says they were ordered and sent to him by his mother-in-law), are "my signal that this is an informal thing," he explained. Guests are seated at Clawson's sessions, in contrast to the stand-up (and frequently antagonistic) regular White House briefings.

The featured guests have ranged from the President's lawyers to his son-in-law, David Eisenhower, and the resident Jesuit on the White House staff, the Rev. John McLaughlin. Three sessions that were arranged with attorney James D. St. Clair provoked controversy because one of them—on May 7—was the occasion for St. Clair's announcement that the President would not honor any more subpoenas for evidence.

This was an important policy decision—and an important news story—occurring not at an open session but before a selected audience of journalists. When the Sen-

ate Watergate Committee hearings were held last year, Clawson felt that the White House had suffered because its point-of-view was not reflected in the news stories written by the congressional correspondents covering the hearings. Consequently, most of those who were specially invited to chat with St. Clair over drinks that afternoon were Capitol Hill reporters who were covering the House Judiciary Committee proceedings and who welcomed the chance to meet the President's lawyer. But there were others who would have liked to have attended the session, including Lawrence O'Rourke, bureau chief of the *Philadelphia Bulletin* and one of the few lawyers on the White House beat; Sarah McClendon, who represents a group of Southwestern newspapers and asks irritating questions at presidential press conferences; and the equally aggressive Clark Mollenhoff of the *Des Moines Register and Tribune*, who also is an attorney and says he is unwelcome at the Clawson clambakes because "I ask the kind of questions they don't like to handle."

No one had raised much of a fuss about who was invited to Clawson's soirées—before the St. Clair incident. "We got a lot of calls after that," Clawson recalls, "from people saying 'Hey, I'm covering this story too. Can I come down?'" Thereafter, two adjustments were made in the system: mimeographed transcripts were made available for those who were not invited; and the sessions with St. Clair and other White House lawyers, involving legal rather than political matters, were opened to all.

Clawson's sessions have regularly included someone from each of the wire services, the *New York Times*, and, usually, the newsmagazines and television networks. Clawson said he tries to invite two columnists (Holmes Alexander, Richard Wilson and Nick Thimmesch are favorites), and two bureau chiefs ("especially if the bureau chief doesn't write—there comes a time when it's



very important," says Clawson, "for a Clifton Daniel to be able to say 'I was chatting with Dean Burch the other day . . .'"

There were 41 sessions in the first five months of 1974, and the anti-Nixon St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* was represented at only three of them, according to the records produced by Clawson's office. When the relative newsworthiness of some guests over others is taken into account, the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Daily News* were invited almost as often as the *New York Times*, with the *Washington Star-News* close behind. Clawson invited the *Washington Post* to about half of the sessions.

Any guest list can be questioned if invitations are issued unilaterally by a political PR man. Conspicuous by their under-representation, however, were two newspapers that also were excluded from the President's trip to Peking in 1972—*Newsday* and the *Boston Globe*. Neither bureau chief is distressed by his absence from Clawson's social register. "The idea that the credibility of their people can be improved by putting them in comfortable chairs is ridiculous," remarked the *Globe's* Martin Nolan.

If there is discrimination in the selection of rotating participants, Clawson insists that it is unintentional. Meanwhile, the heavyweights seem to have simply accepted their privileged position.

"I am not particular about how and where the *Times* gets the news," explained Bureau Chief Clifton Daniel. "Generally, any operation that helps to open up the government to the press is desirable. I am not one who contends that there is an inherent right for every reporter to be present at every news-making function. If I worked for the *Oshkosh Gazette*, however, and were excluded from Clawson's sessions, I wouldn't like it."

Benjamin C. Bradley, executive editor of the *Washington Post*, says any restrictions on access to public officials are deplorable. "Govern-



Ken W. Clawson

ment officials ought to be available, period," he emphasized, expressing displeasure with Clawson's operation, which he summed up with the word "lousy." Nevertheless, the national news desk of the *Post* is in the same boat as any other newspaper in hyper-competitive Washington. If it's the only way to obtain access to policy makers in the government, few can afford as a practical matter to look the other way.

#### THOMAS B. LITTLEWOOD

Thomas B. Littlewood is a Washington correspondent for the *Chicago Sun-Times*.

## Black news services: dying of neglect?

■ At the height of its influence, the legendary Claude Barnett's Associated Negro Press Service, probably the best of the black news services, sent copy to 95 per cent of the black press. For a minimum of \$25 a week, a newspaper received two or three packets of original stories written by a staff of seven in Chicago or by stringers around the U.S. and in 45 countries. There was even a spe-

cial news service for the African press put out by ANP in French and English.

But six years ago, ANP went out of business. ANP died, says Enoch P. Waters, one of its last editors, because of "lack of interest." Publishers simply wouldn't pay their bills. The demise of ANP is symptomatic of the desperate straits in which black news services find themselves. While no one is predicting the immediate death of the black press, the same can't be said of black news services, a vital and essential part of the black press. The atrophy is occurring at a time when both the black press and black news services are probably needed more than they ever were. Reporting by major dailies, even in its current tokenly integrated phase, hasn't changed much. "You read the *Post*, the *Sun-Times* and the *New York Times* and there's no way you get the impression that Washington is 71 per cent black, that Chicago is 45 per cent black, that New York is 30 per cent black," the Rev. Jesse Jackson said recently. Ironically, many black reporters, whether they work for white dailies or black weeklies, say the influence and the paid circulation of black newspapers is decreasing. This, in spite of publishers' figures which show an increase of 30 black newspapers in the last three years and a circulation jump of 600,000, bringing the total to perhaps 4.1 million. The men who run news services which provide black newspapers with the national news they print maintain that publishers are more interested in chasing advertising dollars than in pumping money into a sagging editorial product.

The perilous state of black news services is reflected in the thin coverage of Washington they provide. With more blacks in Congress—and in state and local governments—no black news service can boast of the coverage once provided when access was much more difficult. The list of black newspaper correspondents who remain in Washington is short.





Claude Barnett



Paul H. Wyche, Jr.

Floyd Van Riper

If the nation's 208 black publishers want specialized Washington or national coverage, they must look to the National Black News Service, a two-year-old venture that relies largely on rewrites. NBNS uses a part-time staff of eight and stringers in seven cities to fill its mailed packets.

It shares the faults of its wealthy white counterparts in many areas. Like them, NBNS waits for stories to happen and lacks the resources to uncover national stories significant to blacks. By failing to report important consumer news, NBNS has also missed an opportunity to be of real help to its specialized audience. Even so, the tone of its under-30 staff is ultra-serious—this in reaction to having the black press taken lightly for so many years, explains Paul H. Wyche, Jr., director and major stockholder of NBNS.

Wyche, a 27-year-old alumnus of the *Miami Daily News*, the *Miami Times* and anti-poverty agency public relations, is a senior legislative aide to Rep. John J. Moakley, a Boston Democrat. He says a suggestion by a black congressman triggered the idea for the news service.

NBNS rented the ground floor of a house on Capitol Hill and started with five newspapers as its first clients in March, 1972. At the time, the service consisted of 10 stories mailed each week. Wyche played it careful and conservative. "You know," he recalls, "when we began, some of the black papers down South were still using the term 'colored.' We had to go slow and educate them to use 'black.'"

It wasn't long before NBNS subscribers numbered 68. By then there

were twice-weekly packets with a total of 26 stories each week. Wyche had also learned some hard lessons.

One of his first lessons came when he tried to crack the white market by feeding daily newspapers stories from the 1972 national political conventions. NBNS assigned nine reporters to Miami for its own coverage and got commitments from white editors for additional stories on an "as used" basis. The catch was that the stories were to be telexed through the daily newspapers' correspondents already in Miami. But NBNS says that its stories were not sent by the white correspondents.

Wyche learned an even harder lesson from black publishers. With few exceptions, they were slow to pay their news service bills. Before long, Wyche had dropped one-third of his clients because of nonpayment and NBNS moved to a smaller office in the National Press Building. Collecting the basic \$10 per week remains a key problem even after Wyche winnowed his clients to 45. Yet, he claims, "we're making a little money." NBNS, says Wyche, intends to make a profit.

In sharp contrast to the old days, Wyche says, "our problem is not getting to a white newsmaker, but to a black newsmaker." He recalls one attempt to interview a top black government official. After two months and 39 phone calls, there still was no contact with the official. Even members of the congressional Black Caucus give NBNS the cold shoulder, preferring white outlets.

Despite recognition problems and a tight budget that called for elimination of all full-time reporters, NBNS has some solid achievements to its credit and some success in educating publishers on the importance of news selection.

"We weren't into African things," Wyche explains of the news service's early months, "because none of the black newspapers would use them." Now, he says, some of the papers use as much as a half-page of African datelined stories. He is particularly

proud of the reports filed by NBNS African correspondent Talib Zobeir. Wyche notes that NBNS reported the 45 per cent decline in the number of blacks in the second Nixon administration. NBNS has also analyzed what proposed congressional committee realignment will mean to blacks, a subject white political reporters have neglected.

Wyche is encouraged by what he sees as the progress black newspapers have made in the last six months. "The black press is becoming healthier," he says, "and far more responsive to the community. There is less sensationalized crime news and more news about issues. I think they've grown up a lot and I think the news service has helped."

But, according to Milton Coleman, a 27-year-old veteran of the *Milwaukee Courier* and *African World*, black publishers still have a long way to go. Eight months after Wyche founded NBNS, Coleman began the competing All-African News Service. AANS was backed with \$60,000 in foundation grants and at one time reached 25 black weeklies. But it went out of business last July, in poverty. This news service, which emphasized national news and relied less on rewrites, was probably misnamed, underfinanced and "a little to the left of most publishers," Coleman, now a Washington, D.C., broadcast newsman, acknowledges.

But the experience taught him something. "What black newspapers need to understand," he says, "is the degree to which black news has changed." Black publishers must use their own special ethnic resources to compete for readers' attention. "If you try to write like them [white-owned newspapers] or be like them," Coleman adds, "you're going to lose."

THOMAS DeBAGGIO  
JULIA ALDRIDGE

Thomas DeBaggio is a free-lance writer based in Washington, D.C. Julia Aldridge is a writer for a national consumer newsletter in Washington, D.C.

## Books

LINCOLN STEFFENS: A BIOGRAPHY. By Justin Kaplan. Simon and Schuster. \$10.

■ In the recently published collection called *Muckraking: Past, Present, and Future* (noted in the May/June issue), the names of Ray Stannard Baker, Ida M. Tarbell, and Lincoln Steffens are invoked as frequently and as casually as the Holy Trinity is in other contexts. Of these three, Lincoln Steffens is named most frequently as the very prototype of the genus muckraker. In fact, the conviction that we are in a new era of muckraking has produced a flutter of articles about Steffens in a variety of journals, such as *Journalism Quarterly* or *Mid-America*.

Justin Kaplan also sees Steffens's contemporary relevance: "Steffens demonstrated once and for all the aptness of the adversary mode for dealing with actualities in America. At no other time since the high noon of S. S. McClure and his crusaders has muckraking—in its full range of investigation, exposure, and advocacy—had the force and effectiveness it has achieved in the era of Ralph Nader, My Lai, and Watergate."

Yet Kaplan's own treatment of Steffens's life is a reminder of how little time Steffens—and the other muckrakers, for that matter—spent in producing the so-called "literature of exposure." Steffens became a national figure, achieving a degree of celebrity almost unknown to earlier reporters, in a brief span, when he wrote the series of articles for McClure's magazine that was subsequently published as *The Shame of the Cities*, just after the turn of the century. He had a second turn with fame when his *Autobiography*, published in 1931, gained an unanticipated success.

But much of the rest of his life was spent in what could be called wandering. Until his father abruptly cut him loose at the age of 25, Steffens had luxuriated in a sometimes boisterous student life at Berkeley and in Germany. His career as an employed journalist began at that point and continued for 15 years—as an energetic reporter on

the New York *Evening Post*, as an editor experimenting with writer-oriented journalism on the failing *Commercial Advertiser*, as an editor-turned-muckraker on McClure's, and, briefly, as part of the team on *The American*, which had been acquired by the insurgent muckrakers who seceded from McClure's. Thereafter, for nearly 30 years, he was again a floater, a free-lance publicist for native and foreign radicalism, an expatriate for a time forgotten in the land of Harding and Coolidge, and in the end a kind of a cult sage resident at Carmel, in the California he had left decades before.

Kaplan industriously replaces with fact much the Steffens legend concocted in the *Autobiography*. ("Steffens, by himself and uncorroborated, is not a reliable source for his own literal history or for anyone else's, for that matter.") Yet the figure that remains is not unattractive. Lacking though it does a great literary output or even consistently important journalism, the life is still somewhat admirable for what it did not become. Unlike his colleague Tarbell, Steffens did not convert to apologetics for big business, nor did he ever submit himself to the disciplines of organized radicalism. He remained full of faith that, in the terms of his most overquoted aphorism, the future would work.

THE CHANGING MAGAZINE: TRENDS IN READERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT. By Roland E. Wolseley. Communications Arts Books. Hastings House, \$7.95.

■ A prolific, experienced professor of magazine journalism at Syracuse University has contributed this survey to a series of "Studies on Media Management." He claims that this is the first book "to be devoted wholly to a critical examination of the magazines of America." As such, it certainly merits attention, and yet it is unfortunately patchy. It suffers, for example, in relative depth of information and in coherence in comparison with Theodore Peterson's history, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (second edition, 1964). Newspaper designer Edmund C. Arnold offers himself in these pages as a cartoonist; Herblock and Mauldin need not look uneasily over their shoulders.

JB

## Unfinished business

### The case of the missing script

TO THE REVIEW:

I read with much interest the article regarding l'affaire Townley (May/June). I find little to quarrel with; however, I would like to make one point clear. After Mr. Townley's querulous exit, we attempted to run the story. Alas, no script or film was available. I later learned that it was not available for my perusal prior to the confrontation with Mr. Townley. Perhaps I am a bit old-fashioned, but I feel that when someone is in the employ of another person, information garnered during their employment belongs to the employer; in this case, KWTU. If there ever were a script and film regarding surcharges being made by automobile dealers in the Oklahoma City market, both mysteriously disappeared; therefore, we were unable to run the story.

The article winds up by asking how and for whom the station is being run. My personal opinion is that it is being run exceptionally well. For whom? The owners, employees and our audience as prescribed by the Federal Communications Commission.

Incidentally, thank you for quoting me directly. I still feel the same way.

JACQUES DELIER  
General Manager, KWTU  
Oklahoma City

### Turgid economics reporting

TO THE REVIEW:

I wish CJR would take a look at the coverage of my favorite inadequately reported subject, namely, the economy. My complaint is that the current reporting makes the economy seem to be a mass of unrelated statistics. A deeper, livelier, better economic analysis is needed.

It would be helpful if economic reporters would pick what they

think is the most important pattern in the economy and use it as a theme when reporting each month's new statistics. My own candidate for the most important pattern is the tradeoff between inflation and unemployment. For the past 30 years, at least, politicians have been consciously making choices about whether to have more inflation and less unemployment or to have less inflation and more unemployment. And yet inflation and unemployment are almost never reported together. Why not put the inflation-unemployment tradeoff on a chart and report and analyse it every month when the new statistics come out? One fairly simple graph could outline where the economy has been, where it is, and where it may be going.

There are a number of other patterns that could be reported. My point is merely that it would be an improvement if at least one pattern were selected and reported thoroughly.

GLENN SCOTT  
Louisville, Ky.

### Shooting from the hip

TO THE REVIEW:

Since yours is the most respected journalism review in the nation, I am sorry that you so quickly characterized the new magazine, *People*, in your May/June issue as "soft-core journalism," a phrase which I'm not sure I understand except that it is meant to be pejorative.

To make your point, you picked out a half dozen headlines which indeed did appear over non-hard news stories, mostly about show business figures. Such stories are certainly part of our editorial mix.

You chose to ignore other stories, profiling important contemporary personalities, which were substantial enough to have been picked up by the wire services and quoted in many newspapers, including the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Seattle Daily News*. These stories dealt with the Symbionese Liberation Army, Rep. Peter Rodino, Vice President Ger-

ald Ford, Patricia Nixon, Chess Champion Bobby Fischer, Sen. Ted Kennedy and his son, Ted Jr., former astronaut and now psychic researcher Edgar Mitchell, fugitive financier Robert Vesco, Joan Baez, John Mitchell and Maurice Stans, Rep. Wilbur Mills, etc. etc. A further example: some 485 newspapers across the country made the editorial decision to run an AP story based on our interview with Martha Mitchell. Our information about these individuals is not "mostly a hash," as you say, apparently without having read the stories. We do not rewrite from "obscure sources that are rarely identified." Our sources are not only identified, they are almost without exception the people we are writing about. Your observations are simply untrue, not to mention unfair.

*People's* editorial staff is small, like yours, but not so small that we would ever publish damaging judgments about a story subject without considerable research and thought. Making harsh judgments with little, or at least very selective, research, and with more preconception than thought, is precisely what the *Columbia Journalism Review* is guilty of. It's disappointing.

RICHARD B. STOLLEY  
Managing Editor  
People Magazine

### Surprising omission

TO THE REVIEW:

While I enjoyed Edwin Diamond's article on conservative columnists (May/June), I was surprised by the omission of William A. Rusher, a *bona fide* conservative and a syndicated columnist, from both the illustrations and the text. Rusher's omission was all the more surprising because further on in the issue, he is mentioned in another context involving Edith Efron, *Journalism Quarterly* and CJR, which there identifies him as the publisher of the *National Review*.

Mr. Rusher is a publisher as well as a columnist. He also is a com-



mentator on Channel 4 (NBC News) in New York and a member of the National News Council. In all of these capacities, he espouses a fresh, constructive, frequently amusing and occasionally infuriating, conservative approach. I do not always agree with his positions, but I suggest that he cannot be left out of the conservative fraternity of columnists which, despite or because of the travails of the Nixon Administration, is enjoying relatively widespread attention.

M. J. ROSSANT  
Director  
The Twentieth Century Fund

### WJIM-TV makes its case

#### TO THE REVIEW:

In your March/April issue, you published an article entitled "Blackout in Lansing." The article was almost totally devoted to a repetition of rumors and allegations about WJIM-TV originally reported in a series of stories published in the *Detroit Free-Press*. As chairman of the board of Gross Telecasting, Inc., owner and operator of WJIM-TV, my considered comment necessarily reflects my sad distress that "Blackout in Lansing" falls so far short of the usual high standards of your publication. In another piece from the same issue, Mr. Ben Bagdikian writes eloquently and cogently about "... the role of the government in regulating broadcast journalism." Essentially the matters currently before the FCC relative to WJIM-TV deal with this very same, delicate issue. Consideration of these matters thus requires, in my judgment, unbiased, careful and dispassionate analysis. Instead, the *Columbia Journalism Review* astonishingly assigned a reporter from the *Detroit Free-Press* to write an article about a wide-ranging series of reckless charges, burdened with hearsay, that surfaced initially in that very same newspaper. If this is fair play in your estimate, or a reflection of even the rudiments of journalistic due process, then I despair of ever again knowing the meaning of

those good words.

I conceive of no other reasonable explanation, except malice or bias, for the massive amount of information that has been completely ignored. Consider that, contrary to the inference of reporter Anderson, WJIM-TV provided him with several documents in which he expressed interest. Included was a signed letter from company president, James H. Gross, flatly denying every allegation in the ACLU complaint. Yet, no word of this in the CJR attack.

As another example, on Feb. 21, 1974, WJIM-TV responded to the ACLU complaint. The station presented to the FCC a wealth of firsthand testimony augmented by data from station records that clearly refuted the allegations of the *Detroit Free-Press* and of the ACLU complaint spawned by that same series of irresponsible articles. That point-by-point repudiation was severely hampered by the staleness of the vast majority of the charges ... many of them going back in history ten to fifteen years. Clearly, however, the pressures resulting from the unrelenting attack by the powerful Knight chain were such that the commission opted for a public hearing. An interesting and useful article might be researched from this strange confrontation ... but clearly not by *Detroit Free-Press* reporter Anderson. Why is a major market daily owned by one of the world's largest publishing conglomerates "out to get" a small TV station located in the nation's 89th market? Why does the *only* morning paper serving the fifth largest city in America devote almost 20 columns of newsprint, 17 separate articles, often with banner headlines, to waging a vendetta against a Lansing TV station, while totally ignoring contemporaneous challenges to the licenses of all three Detroit-based, network-affiliated TV stations? As of this date, by the way, none of those Detroit licenses has been renewed and still mum's the word at the paper.

While there is some considerable mystery about the motives of the *Free-Press*, the underlying purpose of the ACLU involvement has become unfortunately transparent.

Interviewed for the April 11, 1974, edition of the *Lansing State Journal*, Harvey Shulman, a Washington, D.C., public interest attorney representing the ACLU, advised local special interest groups to start organizing a takeover of the station, pointing out "WJIM is one of the most lucrative stations in broadcast operation." What price success?

But, refreshingly, due process is *already* at work as the commission quickly dismissed 15 of the ACLU/*Free-Press* charges, including many allegations featured in the CJR story. As a matter of principle I welcome the hearing. There is no question in my mind that when the flood of hearsay is supplanted by the sunshine of sworn testimony and cross-examination, the 40-year record of the WJIM stations in news and public service will be judged as outstanding. Of course, my optimism for the opportunity to confront these reckless charges within the structure of due process is tempered by my realization that this publicly-held company must continue to respond to the kinds of misrepresentation and cursory reporting of vital issues typified by your article. WJIM will prevail ... but there is a larger question, can the broadcast industry prevail? If broadcasters face the spectre of sniping attacks by print competitors escalating into formal public hearings on issues of news and editorial judgment, then a new "Dark Ages" has descended on all of us. The *Columbia Journalism Review* should have been perceptive enough to examine this critical issue, rather than indulging in yet another recapitulation of malicious charges and allegations.

HAROLD F. GROSS  
Chairman  
Gross Telecasting, Inc.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Anderson replies: Mr. Gross's letter comes three months after I repeatedly attempted to contact him without success. It does not rebut, only denies, the charges in my article. David Johnston, the *Free-Press* reporter who discovered the WJIM story, is not privy to corporate policy-making;



he is simply doing his job, not engaging in a conspiracy. The Free-Press editorial page has never mentioned the WJIM issue. Mr. Gross's attempt to use the same defense the networks employ for their relatively hard-hitting news broadcasts is without foundation. The networks are not defending themselves against charges of blacking out major candidates and public officials, editorializing in their own financial behalf or against withholding news coverage in order to collect bills.

### A stinker

#### TO THE REVIEW:

The Bagdikian article on the FCC decision against NBC was a stinker (Mar./Apr.). Bagdikian has had it in for AIM ever since he was national news editor at the Washington Post and we were forced to protest the way he handled—or didn't handle—a couple of news stories to his superiors.

However, even with his animus, I would have thought that a professional journalist of his experience would have not relied so heavily on an article about AIM written by a young journalism student without double-checking the allegations. What is worse, he even embroidered some of the inaccuracies, making them worse. For example, the student had written that I was a contributor to *National Review*. I have had just one article published in *National Review* (which happens to be the same number that I have had published in *The Nation*). Perhaps that does make me a contributor. Mr. Bagdikian, however, wrote that I am "a regular contributor" to *National Review*! Had Mr. Bagdikian taken the trouble to check with us he would have found that we have sent the Freedom of Information Center a lengthy letter correcting the student's errors. They have been lagard in giving our rejoinder proper distribution.

REED J. IRVINE  
Chairman of the Board  
Accuracy in Media, Inc.

### North Carolina: no reply law

#### TO THE REVIEW:

Ben H. Bagdikian was in error when he wrote in the May/June CJR, that North Carolina already has an equal-space press reply law such as Florida's.

I covered the 1974 General Assembly for Freedom Newspapers in this state and can tell you the fighting was fierce, at points, over the proposed law. But, ultimately, the measure was defeated in the closing days in the state Senate. A majority of the senators had co-signed the measure, but when it came time to vote, they backed off.

EDWIN A. BOOK  
Gastonia, N.C.

### How petty can you get?

#### TO THE REVIEW:

Because Henry Kissinger, in his brief tenure as secretary of state, has been unable to stem the annual spawn of 14 million new mouths to feed in India, and convert into verdant farmland the drought-stricken South Sahara, Roger Morris virtually brands him as a fraud. How petty can one get?!

H. T. ROWE  
Ridgewood, N.J.

### Who killed what?

#### TO THE REVIEW:

The Roger Morris account in the May/June issue of the *Columbia Journalism Review* of a so-called Tad Szulc "scoop" on the Cambodian invasion is worth some comment. I think it would be interesting for your readers to know not only the truth about the story but how your *Review* goes about preparing articles.

Some weeks ago I received a telephone call from your editor, Mr. Kenneth Pierce, saying that a man called Roger Morris had written an article for the *Review* and that the article stated that Mr. Szulc had written a story for *The Times* the

day before the Cambodian invasion that predicted the invasion, and that Max Frankel had been contacted by Mr. Kissinger who asked that the story be killed on grounds of national security. Mr. Pierce informed me that the article by Mr. Morris claimed that after Mr. Frankel had called me, I had ordered the story killed.

Mr. Morris, of whom I had never heard, had never called me. Mr. Pierce acknowledged that this was so but said that as editor he was doing the "checking." I was startled at the idea that an editor of a journal that purports to deal with journalism would not insist that the author do a little checking himself before he submitted his piece, or even before it was printed, and that those accused might have a right to talk directly to the author, rather than to an intermediary voice on the phone.

I discovered immediately that Mr. Morris not only had failed to call me but that he had not called Mr. Frankel, then Washington bureau chief of *The Times*, nor Mr. Greenfield, the foreign editor, who would have handled the story, nor as far as I can discover, any other responsible editor in the paper except one—Robert Phelps, then news editor of the Washington bureau. Mr. Phelps told Mr. Greenfield that he had told Mr. Morris that he had no recollection of such a story nor any recollection of any call involving Mr. Kissinger on it, nor any recollection that Mr. Frankel or I or anybody else had ever seen, or killed such a story. Nor did he have any recollection whatsoever of having discussed with Mr. Szulc the reason why the "story" was killed. I told Mr. Pierce that I myself had no recollection of any such story and I assured him that if any such thing had ever taken place I would most certainly remember it.

However, I personally checked with Mr. Frankel and Mr. Greenfield, who said that the Morris-Szulc story was not true.

Mr. Greenfield checked with his associates, on the foreign desk and they too had absolutely no recollection of the Szulc "story." I think that any professional editor who reads the *Review* would agree, even though Mr. Morris and Mr. Pierce

may not understand this, that no editor—and certainly no collection of editors—would ever forget killing a story at the request of Mr. Kissinger, the State Department, or The White House, something that has never taken place in the five years that I have been managing editor.

The facts are that I never discussed this so-called story with Mr. Frankel and that Mr. Frankel never discussed it with Mr. Kissinger and that as far as can be determined nobody ever discussed it with anybody. This does not strike me as strange because I believe Mr. Szulc's memory is at fault.

Major foreign-affairs stories always involve the editors I have mentioned. They are remembered. It would be particularly easy to remember a story of this caliber that was killed because it would have been the only time that such a thing had ever happened. I might point out that the Bill Beecher piece which Mr. Morris also cites was recalled by every person involved and Mr. Pierce was so informed. The Beecher piece was indeed held up, because there were holes in it. When they were filled it was printed. Simple as that. The idea that we held it up because all of a sudden *The Times* did not want to print anything that ran counter to the government line no doubt will cause some amusement in the government.

The article by Mr. Morris was, of course, written without Mr. Morris ever having seen Mr. Szulc's "story," since Mr. Szulc did not have carbons. However, Mr. Szulc was obliging enough to "recreate" the first three paragraphs for Mr. Morris from "memory," as Mr. Pierce informed Mr. Greenfield.

One cannot "prove" the non-existence of a non-existent story. The editors of the *Review* may have a right to decide that Mr. Frankel, Mr. Phelps, Mr. Greenfield, and I and our associates are either liars or amnesiacs.

However, there is printed circumstantial evidence that the whole thesis that we killed the "story" for national security reasons was on its face ridiculous. This evidence is to be found in the back copies of *The New York Times*.

A number of stories appeared in

*The New York Times* in the week or two before Mr. Szulc was supposed to have written his story, which seem to me to make the whole question of "national security" over a Cambodian invasion totally irrelevant.

Less than a week before, on April 23, 1970, Henry Kamm of *The New York Times* reported exclusively from Phnompenh that the United States government was secretly supplying the Cambodian government with arms despite government denials. On the following day, Max Frankel wrote a page one piece detailing the debate within the administration on further U.S. involvement in Cambodia, noting that there was a "split" between the Pentagon and White House, but carefully detailing the possibilities of U.S. intervention.

The Washington bureau, on the weekend before the actual invasion, reported that Mr. Kissinger and the President had met and that the National Security Council was meeting Monday to consider the decision on an urgent basis. During the week we also reported in detail Secretary of State Rogers's congressional testimony on the matter and pointed out he seemed deliberately vague and ambiguous during the debate. Thus, the United States involvement—and the possibility of an invasion—was not by any stretch of the imagination kept from the readers of this newspaper because of an alleged intervention by Mr. Kissinger. Mr. Morris's facts are wrong, and so is the little edifice he tries to create about them.

Obviously, since Mr. Morris checked neither with the responsible editors of *The Times* who were supposed to have made the decision or its files, he was not at all interested in arriving at the truth, to put it politely.

So much for the kind of "reporting" your *Review* prints. But in my mind at least the whole way this article was prepared, "edited," and "checked" raises some interesting questions about the ethical and journalistic standards of the *Review*.

Mr. Pierce, the editor, knew that the one editor to whom Mr. Morris had talked, Mr. Phelps, had told Mr. Greenfield that he had told Mr. Morris that he had no recollection

of having discussed this story with Mr. Szulc and that he had no recollection of the story at all. Yet, Mr. Pierce allowed the story to be printed without Mr. Morris making any mention of Mr. Phelps at all.

Mr. Pierce also knew that after receiving his call *The Times* and its editors had gone to great lengths to check every person who conceivably could have been involved in the story and that all of them said the incident could not have taken place. From some editors there were statements that they had no recollection of it and therefore believed it could not have happened. From others there was the flat-out statement that it never happened.

How did the *Review* handle all this? By inserting one parenthetical paragraph merely saying: "Senior *Times*' executives say they do not remember this conversation with Mr. Kissinger—or even Szulc's scoop on the invasion. 'I am not saying it didn't happen,' was the representative comment of managing editor Rosenthal, 'I just have no recollection of it.'"

It is contemptible to try to leave the impression in the story—as in the eager press release that accompanied it—that I believed it could have happened but I just didn't remember it. The entire thrust of our conversations with Mr. Pierce were exactly the contrary. It was that since no one single editor had any recollection of it, since the evidence in *The Times* itself was to the contrary, since neither Mr. Szulc nor anybody else had ever discussed the matter with Mr. Phelps, Mr. Frankel or any editor in New York, that the whole thing obviously never happened. It is plain to me that since the *Review* had the piece in hand and was rather embarrassed by the fact that its author had done no checking with those involved, its editor felt called upon to go through the motions and that nothing that this paper or its editors could have said would have changed his determination to print the story. That is bad enough but for some reason he also felt called upon to distort entirely our painstaking inquiry and what we had said to him.

From time to time this paper gets letters from imaginative readers saying that it is the tool of Moscow or

the stooge of the United States government. We expect some of these crank letters but for such a fantasy to appear in your *Review* tells considerably more about the *Review* than it does about *The Times*.

One little point further. Mr. Szulc is quoted by Mr. Morris as saying "you can't imagine how it felt not to see it in the paper."

Indeed, I find it absolutely impossible to believe that if Mr. Szulc had written a story that he considered so important and found it was killed he would not have protested to me or Mr. Greenfield or Mr. Frankel that day, the next day—or even once in the ensuing years. Anybody who knows Mr. Szulc, who left *The Times* a little over a year ago, or who knows any reporter, would also find this quite incredible.

I think I know Mr. Szulc well enough to say that I am confident that he was and is enough of a journalist to have brought the issue up with me at least once in all this time if he had reason to believe that I had killed a major story of his because somebody in the government had asked me to do so, directly or indirectly, and for whatever reason. If for one reason or another Mr. Szulc failed to do so, it is inconceivable that no other reporter or editor would have mentioned it to me or to any other editor who would have been involved in such a decision.

I have been managing editor of this paper for almost five years. I have never, repeat never, discussed a story that had appeared in *The Times* with Mr. Kissinger. Only once, on a relatively minor matter, did I receive a word from our Washington bureau that Mr. Kissinger felt it might be in the best national interests not to print a story. I did not agree and the story was printed the next day and that was the end of the matter.

Normally I write letters in response to articles about *The Times* very rarely. I am doing so in this case for two reasons. One is that I hope it will encourage *The Review* to be considerably more punctilious and professional in its method of operation. I am used to seeing fantasies and misstatements about newspapers in publications that make no real claim to journalistic

responsibility. But I was saddened to see this kind of thing in a journal published under the aegis of a university and a school of journalism.

The second reason is that I would like newspapermen who read your *Review* to be aware of the record.

A. M. ROSENTHAL  
Managing Editor  
The New York Times

#### Editor's reply:

*A few days after Mr. Rosenthal wrote the above letter, we were pleased to note that the op-ed page of the New York Times reprinted a large portion of Mr. Morris's article. It was gratifying to learn that at least some Times editors joined with the many others in journalism and government who have praised Mr. Morris's piece. We feel it is one of the more important articles we have published recently.*

*About a week later, Max Frankel told author John Marks what he had previously told the Review: yes, Mr. Frankel said, it was possible that Mr. Szulc had written the story in question, and yes, it was possible that Mr. Frankel discussed it with Mr. Kissinger before it was killed, but no, Mr. Frankel had no recollection of the story or the conversation. He added that he felt sure he would not have killed the story for national security reasons.*

*These public events seem rebuttal enough to the above letter. We add only the following:*

*1.) It was after Mr. Morris twice telephoned Mr. Rosenthal and Mr. Frankel and after they did not return his calls that Mr. Pierce called Mr. Rosenthal and other Times executives. The fact that such checking was done seems more important than who did it.*

*2.) Mr. Morris's sources included two respected reporters currently in the Washington bureau of the New York Times ("Don't cave in," one of them urged us in a final phone call), and four high government officials. Tad Szulc supplied confirmation when asked, but he was not the source who first told Mr. Morris of the incident.*

*3.) Prior to publication of Mr. Morris's article, the Review, at Mr. Greenfield's suggestion, checked the*

*earlier Times articles referred to. The editor concluded—and submits that any impartial reader would conclude—that it is simply not true to say that, in the week before the invasion, the Times led readers to expect an invasion.*

*4.) The Review stated, accurately, that Mr. Szulc was told that Mr. Rosenthal had killed the story. It is possible that Mr. Szulc was not told the truth. We can understand Mr. Rosenthal's sensitivity on this point, and we do not assert that he personally killed the story; we do not know who killed the story. The reason we quoted Mr. Rosenthal was that his statement fairly represented the comments offered by Mr. Frankel, Mr. Phelps, and Mr. Greenfield. Moreover, Mr. Rosenthal was the responsible executive.*

*We do not accuse anybody of being an "amnesiac or liar." We established, in a prepublication investigation lasting two weeks, that A) Mr. Szulc submitted the story; B) Mr. Kissinger spoke with Mr. Frankel about it; C) the story was killed; D) four Times executives said in seven phone conversations that they did not remember it.*

*This incident was described in three paragraphs of a 12-page article that dealt with the range of Mr. Kissinger's press relations. The conclusion we drew in those paragraphs still strikes us as appropriate:*

*"Like the government's decision to invade, the paper's decision to suppress may never be fully known or understood." Would that it were otherwise.*

#### Required reading

##### TO THE REVIEW:

The Rosenthal-Szulc debate aside, the piece by Roger Morris is quite extraordinary and by far the most important writing about the press in years. Coming as it does in post-Pentagon Papers, post-Watergate Washington, it should be required reading for all reporters, bureau chiefs and editors.

DAVID HALBERSTAM  
New York



## REPORT ON REPORTS

### Summaries and reviews of current literature on the media

**"A Talk with the Unsinkable Barbara Walters,"** by Chris Chase, New York, Mar. 25, 1974; **"Barbara Walters: the Morning Star,"** Newsweek, May 6, 1974.

Barbara Walters, co-host of NBC's *Today* show, is a hot media item. Both *Newsweek* and *New York*, while differing on some details such as her "favorite interview," agree that Ms. Walters is an energetic, determined, ambitious, hard-working person. These articles may help you understand her popularity, but the woman herself remains private.

**"Impact of Viewer Predispositions on Political TV Commercials,"** by Thomas R. Donohue, *Journal of Broadcasting*, Winter 1973/74; **"Political Advertising: Voter Reaction to Televised Political Commercials,"** by Thomas E. Patterson and Robert D. McClure, Citizens' Research Foundation, Study #23.

There have been few systematic attempts to weigh the effects of political commercials on the fortunes of a candidate or on the outcome of an issue. While these articles don't answer all the questions, they do offer cogent conclusions based on solid empirical evidence. Donohue, an assistant professor in the department of drama and communications at Louisiana State University, argues that the "specific content of messages" in political commercials seems to be less crucial than was once believed because people tend "to add and attribute even more positive elements to commercials based on their own . . . beliefs." Patterson and McClure, professors of political science at Syracuse University, monitored over 600 voters' exposure to political TV commercials in 1972. They conclude that the impact of televised political spots is much greater than might be expected. The authors agree with Donohue's conclusion that political "commercials usually work to move undecided votes and voter switchers in the direction of their basic predispositions."

**"The Library Journals,"** by Bonnie Collier, Change, May, 1974.

A senior reference librarian at Yale University surveys the field quite thoroughly. She finds that "library literature . . . reflects the profession's concern for immediate, practical matters."

**"Coming up: biggest season for baseball on radio-TV,"** Broadcasting, Feb. 25, 1974.

It is well known by now that baseball is no longer a sport, but a business. Much of the success of the baseball business depends heavily on revenues from radio and TV. This year, according to *Broadcasting's* annual survey, will be better than ever: broadcast rights will earn the major league ball club owners over \$43 million in 1974. Just how thoroughly broadcasters blanket baseball is made startlingly clear in this roundup, which details club-by-club "the money, stations, games sponsors" for 1974.

**"The Problem of Journalism History,"** by James W. Carey, *Journalism History*, Spring, 1974.

Writing in a new journal, the director of the Institute of Communications Research of the University of Illinois at Urbana deals in first-rate fashion with the difficulties facing those who are interested in writing about journalism history. Significantly, he ties the problems to the crisis of apathy facing the study of U.S. history in general and argues—as have others in various branches of the discipline—that if history is to be made attractive "our studies need to be ventilated . . . by fresh perspectives and new interpretations even more than by additional data."

**"Hip Deep in Capitalism: Alternative Media in Boston,"** by Andrew Kopkind, *Working Papers for a New Society*, Spring, 1974.

Kopkind, an editor of *Working Papers*, reports in depth on the FM radio station WBCN and the two weekly papers (*Boston Phoenix* and the *Real Paper*) which have "cornered" Boston's "vast local counter-cultural market." Kopkind's account of their growth and operations is fascinating and well-written, but there is something wistful in his judgment that the weeklies and the radio station "still provide more communitarian, unthreatening, nonauthoritarian, and service-directed opportunities than their traditional counterparts . . . [and] they are not likely to 'sell out' completely to old styles and consuming values."

**"The Shadow in the Cave: The Broadcaster, His Audience, and the State,"** by Anthony Smith. University of Illinois Press, Urbana. \$8.95.

Exceedingly well-written study by an Oxford scholar and former BBC public affairs producer. American readers should note in particular the chapters on "News—the Ugly Mirror" and on American television.

DANIEL J. LEAB



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## Suicide more common than thought

Washington State University  
Daily Evergreen 4/10/74

## Six Sentenced To Life In Clarksville

Nashville Banner 4/5/74

## Nixon To Stand Pat On Watergate Tapes

Indianapolis Star 5/8/74

## Menninger Condemns Decline of Sin

Kansas City Star 3/28/74

## Glass eye is no help in identifying corpse

Deseret News 6/6/74

## Hollander appointed to goose committee

Fond du Lac Reporter 5/10/74

## Election Of 1972 Called Udder Fraud

Covington Virginian 5/22/74

## New Housing For Elderly Not Yet Dead

Barre-Montpelier Times-Argus 5/31/74

## Teachers' Head Goes Off To Jail

Sarasota Herald-Tribune 4/20/74

## Linden woman, aided by fund drive, dies

Flint Journal 5/24/74

WASHINGTON (AP) — Former Mice President Spiro T. Egnew drew applause when he arrived at a local sports arena for a concert by singer Frank Sinatra.

Catcalls from the crowd of about 15,000 persons were

Richmond News Leader 4/25/74

by North Vietnam," the department said in a statement made public Sunday.

The statement commented on the report of a stud mission sent to Indochina by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., chairman of the Senate Judiciary subcommittee on

AP wire 5/26/74

tapes and verify the transcripts.

The President said the material he was making available should end, once and for all, speculation about his role in Watergate. mmmmmmmmm

"As far as what the President personal-

New Bedford Standard-Times 4/30/74

(WASHINGTON)---PRESIDENT NIXON TODAY PROCLAIMED MAY "OLDER AMERICANS MONTH," SAYING THE NATION "POSSESSES NO GREATER NATURAL RESOURCE THAN THE COLLECTIVE WISDOM AND EXPERIENCE" OF ITS SENIOR CITIZENS. IN A SECOND PROCLAMATION, NIXON ALSO DESIGNATED MAY AS "NATIONAL ARTHRITIS MONTH."

UPI wire 5/1/74

THE 36-YEAR-OLD DAVIDSON GAVE SEVERAL REASONS AS HIS REASON FOR THE RESIGNATION.

IN A STATEMENT REGARDING DAVIDSON TODAY, GOVERNOR MOORE SAID: "1563 19,183,13 2E81E 697 15,'58573,5' E-13 -1,213 '53\$ 8, 697 8' 3,183,13\$ 76 6974 3084589, 59 5E3 E97'3 S1 \$3334-53' 194 '8/ 53.4.", A RECORD WHICH SHOULD BE MOST GRATIFYING TO YOU."

AP broadcast wire 3/29/74

one Washington hostess, "Nancy is not overawed by Henry. She's never jealous. She's casual and politely indifferent to his swining life. She teases him about it. She makes no demands on him. She was

Baltimore Evening Sun 4/3/74

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—'Columbia Journalism Review,'  
Fall, 1961.

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